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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-159
Friday
18 August 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-159 *18 August 1989*

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GDR's Dietze on Geneva Disarmament Conference

Stresses Disarmament Willingness

AU0808185089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[ADN report: "Progress Must Finally Be Made in Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Excerpt] Geneva—At the Geneva disarmament conference on Thursday [3 August], GDR Ambassador Dietze stressed the socialist states' willingness and readiness to finally make progress in nuclear disarmament. In his capacity as coordinator of the group of socialist states at the conference, he said that the body of 40 countries, in which all nuclear countries are represented, was the most adequate forum to give shape to the idea of a world free of nuclear weapons.

He said that this group of socialist states was backing every measure for the substantive discussion of the theme "discontinuation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament," which was on the agenda. Dietze added that this was also proved by the socialist states' consent to the proposal submitted by the group of neutral and nonaligned states to set up an ad-hoc committee on this issue, by their readiness to resume unofficial meetings of the plenum on nuclear disarmament, and by joint proposals of socialist states for a substantive dialogue on nuclear disarmament problems.

Ambassador Dietze pointed out that at their recent Bucharest meeting, the Warsaw Pact countries had confirmed their readiness to try to reach accords with all countries interested, that would lead to a stepwise reduction in, and total elimination of all nuclear weapons. He said that what was now necessary was the will to seriously discuss these problems in the disarmament conference. He said that the time was ripe for making practical steps in the direction of setting up an ad-hoc committee on this issue. The ambassador regretted that the group of Western countries is not yet ready to resume multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament at the conference. [passage omitted]

Interviewed on Chemical Weapons

LD1508094589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0400 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—Ambassador Dr Peter Dietze, head of the GDR delegation, has granted the ADN correspondent in Geneva the following interview on the state of negotiations at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament on the convention concerning the ban on chemical weapons:

Question: The Geneva disarmament conference is to end this year's session in a few weeks' time. How do you assess the state of the negotiations on banning chemical weapons?

Answer: Let me emphasize three points: Firstly, the serious concern of many states that the negotiations on eliminating this category of mass destruction weapons are not proceeding speedily enough and that—whether intentionally or unintentionally—they often get bogged down on technical details. Secondly, the urging by many delegations to take up positions on the still outstanding key issues in order to create preconditions for conjoint solutions. And finally, the increasingly clearer demands for finishing the work on the draft convention.

Question: Can you give any details on likely progress?

Answer: In my view we have made some progress on technical questions regarding verification of the production ban on chemical weapons. There is agreement on the chemicals to be checked. Matters are similar with regard to the protection of confidential information which, because of verification work to be done by a future international organization for chemical disarmament, must be made available. It is now necessary for all parties involved to keep the commitments entered into in Paris without ifs and buts, including the United States.

Question: You have mentioned unsolved key questions. What particular problems do you have in mind?

Answer: Essentially it is a question of inspections on demand when a violation of the convention is suspected. Such inspections must be possible at any time and anywhere without the right of appeal. It is a matter of the sequence of the destruction of stockpiled chemical weapons and their production plants. This also includes the problem of sanctions in case of treaty violations and the composition of the executive council of the future organization for chemical disarmament. Once there is movement on these issues then details still outstanding could be cleared up relatively quickly.

Question: Why is it so difficult to settle the key questions you have mentioned?

Answer: In the first instance, political decisions are needed in order to reach agreements. That means to actually want a global, comprehensive, and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons at the earliest possible time. Obviously, a ban on chemical weapons, the destruction of such weapons and their production plants is no easy matter. But we feel that however complicated the subject may be, the time has come, after 6 years, to move into the crucial negotiation phase. The GDR's proposal for a meeting of the Geneva disarmament conference at the foreign minister level also aims at this in order to secure the determined completion of the convention.

Question: As far as I know the socialist states have taken determined steps to achieve a breakthrough at the negotiations.

Answer: That is correct. Many initiatives have been taken. Only recently, the Warsaw Pact states in Bucharest called for effective measures to eliminate chemical weapons and appealed for a speeding up of preparations for a convention to bring about a complete ban. As recently as January at the Paris Conference, the Soviet Union made a significant unilateral concession for the speedy continuation of the negotiations. Following the halt in the production of chemical weapons, which has already taken place, the USSR is to begin their destruction even before the end of this year.

As far as the GDR is concerned, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer has presented both in Paris and at the Geneva disarmament conference, a whole number of proposals. The GDR has stated that it has no chemical weapons and that no such weapons are deployed on its territory. It does not pursue the development of chemical weapons nor does it have any plants for their manufacture. Chemicals with multiple application are subject to stringent export controls.

Likewise, the GDR's chemical industry already supports in many ways the concern of the convention. Last year a trial inspection was carried out. One chemical plant is available for international trial inspection. What is more, the GDR is willing to prepare, together with the FRG, a trial inspection for this case and to carry it out on the basis of reciprocity. This is in the spirit of transparency and openness. At the same time, processes could be tested and valuable experiences for future international inspections could be gathered. Furthermore, the proposal to create a chemical weapon-free zone in Central Europe testifies to the seriousness and determination of the GDR's approach to the ban of chemical weapons.

Question: According to press reports, important progress is said to have been achieved at the bilateral talks between the USSR and the United States on a chemical weapons ban. Has this become noticeable in the Geneva disarmament conference negotiations?

Answer: Yes, progress is said to have been made, but concrete results have not yet been presented to the conference. The signals from the U.S. delegation in the current negotiations are fairly contradictory. The green light from Washington is still awaited. Here in Geneva the expectation expressed repeatedly by the Soviet Union is being shared that this will take place soon and in a positive sense.

Question: And how will the negotiations on the ban of chemical weapons continue after the summer session of the disarmament conference?

Answer: It is certain that we have an opportunity to reach a solid result—genuine disarmament of chemical weapons. All the indications are in favor of continuing the negotiations intensively, between the sessions of the Conference on Disarmament as well. The GDR will support such proposal. In the coming months, agreement in principle on the still contentious issues must be reached so that the negotiations can be concluded if possible in 1990.

Speaks on Nuclear Test Ban

LD1508133189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1145 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—The ban on all nuclear weapons tests remains a priority question for the GDR because it is the key to true nuclear disarmament. This was confirmed by the head of the GDR delegation, Ambassador Dr Peter Dietze, at the Geneva disarmament conference today.

At the Bucharest meeting, the GDR, together with the other Warsaw Pact countries, had called for purposeful discussion at the Geneva disarmament conference on a halt to nuclear tests, and agreement as soon as possible on protocols on questions relating to the monitoring of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-U.S. test ban treaties.

Nagasaki must remain the last place whose name mankind will associate with a nuclear holocaust, Dr Dietze urged. To this end, the GDR has recently—a year after the important international meeting on nuclear-free zones—issued an invitation for a discussion of the international relations bureau in the GDR capital, in order to discuss steps toward a nuclear-free world.

The GDR supports the USSR Supreme Soviet's call to the U.S. Congress to declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, and ultimately to stop the tests completely, the speaker stressed. It also advocates a conference at which the 1963 Moscow Treaty on the ban of nuclear tests in the three categories should be extended to underground tests. A communication to this effect has been delivered to the treaty's depository countries.

In view of the potential of stockpiled weapons, it is now time to end the clamouring for superiority and nuclear deterrence. Therefore, the Warsaw Pact nations have proposed separate negotiations on the reduction and removal of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The GDR has a vital interest in this, Dr Dietze emphasized. There are no valid arguments for postponing such negotiations or for making them dependent on the results of other negotiations.

CSSR's Johanes Addresses Geneva Conference

LD1708154189 Prague CTK in English 1328 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva Aug 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia regards the Geneva conference as a significant part of efforts at progress in a vitally important sphere of disarmament, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said here today.

Addressing the Geneva disarmament conference, he said this forum should have a decisive say above all in the sphere of chemical and nuclear disarmament. Czechoslovakia, together with its allies, supports the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. talks on 50 percent cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. As regards tactical nuclear weapons, the socialist countries believe it is necessary to start separate talks about them as soon as possible. The Soviet Union's intention to unilaterally reduce this class of weapons provided the talks are started deserves a constructive answer from the other side, Minister Johanes said.

Recalling Czechoslovakia's initiative to create a zone of confidence and cooperation along the borderline between Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, put forward in February 1988, the minister stressed that concrete steps in the military sphere between states along the line would significantly contribute to confidence, openness about and predictability of military activities. Czechoslovakia intends to discuss its intitative with countries concerned and will suggest to them measures that would shift the process of building security and confidence in Europe ahead.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister recalled Czechoslovakia's unilateral disarmament steps, including troop reductions by 12,000, the gradual liquidation of 850 tanks, 165 armoured vehicles and 51 aircraft, as well as reductions of military exercises and a 15 percent cut in defence spendings in 1989-90, pointing out that similar steps by Western partners would contribute to efforts to achieve greater confidence and security in Europe.

Reviewing the work of the disarmament conference, he said more has been expected from it, both in the drafting of a text of a convention on banning and liquidating chemical weapons and in discussions on the package of nuclear disarmament questions.

Jaromir Johanes announced the following steps taken by Czechoslovakia to support a speedy achievement of a ban on and liquidation of chemical weapons.

Firstly, Czechoslovakia publishes all main data about its chemical potential, related to a ban, Johanes said, confirming that Czechoslovakia does not own, produce or store any chemical weapons. All research work in Czechoslovakia is aimed exclusively at protection against effects of chemical weapons and for peaceful purposes.

Secondly, within the framework of international control that chemical weapons are not produced in the civilian chemical industry, Czechoslovakia is ready to receive a team of foreign inspectors at a chemical factory at Mnisek near Liberec, north Bohemia. Czechoslovakia expects the principles for international control to be agreed upon as soon as possible, Johanes said.

Thirdly, Czechoslovakia will single out a reference laboratory for analyses of samples and tests of toxic effects of new chemical substances, that can be used by the control bodies of the convention of an ban on chemical weapons. "We hope this contribution of ours, the openness and effort to actively seek ways of a speedy achievement of mutually acceptable compromises will stimulate many other countries to take similar steps," Jaromir Johanes said, and added that an important task of the conference is to start as soon as possible meaningful talks on the issue of nuclear disarmament. Significant progress could be achieved above all at talks on a general and complete ban on tests of nuclear weapons, the Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed.

Holds Talks

LD1808040489 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva Aug 17 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today with General Secretary of the Conference on Disarmament Miljan Komatina and General Director of the U.N. Office in Geneva and Director of the U.N. Centre for Human Rights Jan Martenson.

The Czechoslovak minister also held talks with Executive Secretary of the U.N. Commission for Europe Gerald Hinteregger.

Under discussion were topical issues of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the United Nations, problems in the sphere of disarmanent, and cooperation in human rights.

Article Views Gorbachev Defense Doctrine

AU1708163789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Aug 89 p 4

[Candidate of sciences Elmas Leci article: "'Sufficient Level' in the Gorbachev Defense Doctrine"]

[Text] High Soviet officials and propagandists have recently intensified their publicity campaign for the so-called military defense doctrine, which is being classified as an integral part of perestroyka and the new Gorbachev political thinking. The diplomatic jaunts undertaken by Moscow's high military emissaries in various countries, such as Defense Minister D. Yazov's visit to Britain and Marshal Akhromeyev's visit to the United States are part of this campaign. At a meeting with American journalists, Akhromeyev stated: "Visits by high Soviet military officials in various countries are intended to intensify the military dialogue with the West and to expound the Soviet military defense doctrine." Soviet officials present this "defensive" doctrine as being a primary method of resolving various complicated international problems in the military field. Akhromeyev reiterated this on 9 August at a meeting with a group of U.S. congressmen visiting the Soviet Union and a number of military establishments in that country.

Both Minister of Defense Yazov and Marshal Akhromeyev, as well as a number of other high military officials, have pointed out that in the course of their meetings with American and other Western military personalities they discussed their respective "defensive" military doctrines. However, neither side has provided any details about these discussions or about the negotiations that have taken place between high Soviet and American officials. The diplomatic campaign of the Soviet side pertaining to the "defensive" doctrine seeks to create a "peaceful" image of disarmament in the eyes of international public opinion. It is not coincidental that this doctrine is being presented in the context of, and as an integral part of perestroyka. The aim is to induce people in the world to believe that Gorbachev's reforms have also transformed the nature of Soviet military doctrine and policy.

However, a confrontation with reality and the strategic objectives of the Soviet Union's foreign policy shows that the so-called defensive doctrine seeks to change only the label, but not its real nature as the military doctrine of a superpower that intends to dominate the world. One of the basic concepts of the new Soviet military doctrine is precisely "the preservation of a sufficient level of defense of Soviet armed forces. First, this "sufficient level" is determined by the Soviet Union itself and, obviously, it has in mind a level of military potential that will enable it to preserve its role as a great power whose influence extends to all continents. Second, a"sufficient level" presupposes the implementation of the so-called internationalist duty of the Soviet armed forces, as is stressed by the Soviet media from time to time. This internationalist role includes the preservation of Soviet military structures in the Warsaw Pact countries, primarily, that is, in the "socialist community." The reduction or withdrawal of some military units from this or that country in East Europe does not mean a total absence of the Soviet military presence there. The "sufficient level," therefore, also preserves Soviet military structures in other regions of the world, particularly the naval strike units, which are deployed throughout the seas and oceans. The defects and accidents that have occurred in some Soviet submarines throw light on an intensive military activity of an offensive nature carried out very far from Soviet shores.

Another basic concept of the Soviet "defense" doctrine is the establishment and development of military cooperation with the United States. This has been taking place for some time now and has assumed concrete forms as a result of a number of military agreements between the superpowers. Now that the military doctrines of the two superpowers are being interlinked, the intention is to establish their military cooperation on a broader and more contractual basis. The aim is, particularly, to institutionalize the military cooperation between the armed forces of the two superpowers in third countries. The "defensive" military doctrine thus opens up the way to the protection of American and Soviet interests in other regions. It also opens up the way to a coordination between the military forces of the two parties, against the armed forces of a third party.

It is no coincidence that the Soviet "defensive" military doctrine is based on the principle of the military-strategic parity of the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It is in the name of military-strategic parity that the feverish arms race between the superpowers has been conducted, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. The proposals made and agreements reached between the superpowers do not affect this principle of parity. This means also that they can agree on a sufficient level of potential to preserve their quantitative and qualitative superiority over those of other countries.

These aggressive concepts at the foundation of the Soviet "defensive" military doctrine throw light on the unchanged nature of the Soviet Union's political and military strategy. The new "defensive" labels applied in the name of perestroyka and of the so-called new political thinking cannot conceal the aggressive nature and the threat represented by the military doctrines of the imperialist superpowers. These labels represent perhaps a tactical change, but the objectives remain unchanged. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front: "The superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, remain what they are: They relinquish neither their strategic goals to achieve hegemony and impose their rights on others, nor the zones of influence and privileges granted them by this policy."

Western Support for Perestroyka Viewed
AU1708135389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Aug 89 p 4

[Lulzim Cota article: "The International Bourgeoisie to the Assistance of Perestroyka"]

[Text] The economic crisis in the Soviet Union has reached that point at which Gorbachev himself has been compelled to signal an SOS for his perestroyka. Both Moscow and the international capitalist bourgeoisie consider Western assistance and investments for the atrophied Soviet economy to be the only way to set it in motion again. During his recent visits to France and the FRG, Gorbachev held out his palm for capital, investments, and joint companies from Western firms. The Soviet Prime Minister, Ryzhkov, made known for the first time that the 1989 budget deficit would reach $160 billion. Some members of the Congress of People's Deputies and economists called for urgent Western aid and credits of between $15-$30 billion to save perestroyka from disaster.

The Western countries, for their part, have set great hopes on perestroyka as a system of economic, political, social, and other capitalist reforms which would integrate the Soviet Union even more closely with the international capitalist system. As a result of perestroyka, a large, limitless, and close market is being opened up to a even greater extent than hitherto, with a great appetite for everything from high technology to everyday commodities and food. During his visit to the FRG, Gorbachev told German businessmen that the time had arrived not for small enterprises, but for great strategic projects. Under these conditions, the West is doing all it can to help perestroyka escape from its crisis and, at the same time, reap huge profits. Following his visit to the Soviet Union last year, where he became acquainted with the difficulties and urgent needs of perestroyka, Ciriaco de Mita, the Italian prime minister, launched the idea of a "Marshall Plan" to revive the Soviet economy and that of other East European countries. He provided more details of this "Marshall Plan" later in Los Angeles, stressing that the $3 billion credit granted by Western banks when perestroyka had just started is currently insufficient to save it from the crisis. A package of credits and aid was worked out by some West European countries at the end of last year, totaling some $9 billion. The major creditors were British, West German, French, and Italian banks. This project caused alarm in the Reagan administration, which was in its last days, for fear that this would perhaps strengthen Moscow too much. The American concern was that this package of credits did not include any of the Wall Street banks. It is a fact that the United States is not a major economic partner of the Soviet Union, unlike the aforementioned four countries. EEC trade with CEMA reached $25 billion last year alone. The European members of NATO have relinquished the "no exception law" within COCOM (the Multilateral Export Control Coordination Committee which includes the NATO countries and Japan), which banned the export of high technology to the Warsaw Pact members. Under these circumstances, Washington moved from a position of open skepticism to a policy of support for perestroyka. U.S. President Bush himself spoke of an "historical turning point" in Soviet-American relations when he visited Europe toward the end of May and the beginning of June, "putting the stress on economic questions."

Each one of the Western creditors seeks to "assist" the profound capitalist reforms taking place in the Soviet Union and other East European countries, offering credits or joint capital. The Soviet-West German declaration stated that "The West German Government and its economic sector are prepared to contribute to the success of the economic reforms in the Soviet Union." A number of projects worth over $800,000 each were examined during Gorbachev's visit, as well as the rapid increase in the number of joint venture enterprises. French businessmen also showed a keen interest in investing in the Soviet Union during Gorbachev's visit to Paris. Numerous agreements were concluded to create Soviet-French joint venture enterprises in various fields, ranging from computer technology and oil drilling, to food programs.

In addition to the considerable economic advantages that the Western bourgeoisie sees in its support for perestroyka, it also considers the political and ideological interests of the capitalist system as a whole. Purposely identifying the crisis in the Soviet Union and in other East European countries as a supposed crisis of socialism, it recommends assistance from the international bourgeoisie as being the only way of "helping socialism to escape its crisis."

This strategic goal in supporting perestroyka and the capitalist reforms currently being carried out in the East European countries has been admitted by almost all Western leaders. Gorbachev's perestroyka, the profoundly capitalist reforms in the East European countries, and the all-round economic and political support given to them by Western capital with definite strategic objectives to the detriment of socialism vindicate Comrade Ramiz Alia's conclusions at the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, where he stressed: "It is precisely because perestroyka and the reforms now being implemented in a number of countries serve to restore capitalism that the bourgeoisie and international reaction are supporting them enthusiastically. More than that, they even recommend these reforms as 'models' of economic development, as a criterion for progress and democracy, and even as a prerequisite for international cooperation between states."

Mother Theresa Leaves Tirana 17 Aug
AU1708185789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Mother Theresa visited the Tirana Anti-Tubercular Institute this morning. The director of the institute, Panamir Popi, briefed her on the work done to cure the

patients, on the research and scientific work of this institute, and on the successes achieved in Albania in the fight against tuberculosis as a result of the constant raising of living standards and especially as a result of the great care shown for the health of young children. She then visited some of the sections of this institute.

Mother Theresa also visited a children's vacation center in Durres, where she was able to observe the excellent conditions created for vacationing children.

Mother Theresa today concluded her private visit and left Albania. She was bid farewell at the airport by Ciril Pistoli, president of the Albanian Red Cross, Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly relations With Foreign Countries, and others.

Gas Field Discovered in Vlore District

AU1408171489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Aug 89 p 1

[ATA-attributed report: "Joyful Tidings From the Oil and Gas Front"—"Success of the Workers of the Vlore Drilling-Survey Enterprise"—"A New Gas Field Is Discovered"]

[Text] The collective of the Drilling-Survey Enterprise in Vlore have joyfully informed Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, about the discovery of a new gas field in Vlore District. This success, which was achieved during the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation, confirms once again the party's saying that ours is a gas and oil-bearing country and that the struggle for the discovery of new fields is an essential task of the oil workers.

The concrete discovery of the new field is a result of the persistent efforts of the workers and specialists of the drilling-survey enterprise, who confronted a number of difficulties, carrying out the drilling and survey operations with stringent technical and scientific discipline.

The survey of the region, as well as the drilling of the well, were carried out through a profound analysis and scientific study of the data collected in the preliminary operations and by efficiently using contemporary methods.

Inspired by the decision of the Party Central Committee Politburo to support and promote initiatives and by the optimism generated as a result of the discovery of the newest gas field, the workers of this enterprise have adopted new pledges. They will fulfill the annual plan early by 15 days, and will commission three wells by the end of the year. They have also pledged to reduce costs by 115,000 leks over and above the cost reduction target.

Foreign Ministry: Turkey Delays Border Traffic
AU1708170489 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT 17 Aug 89

["Turkish Services Impede Cross-Border Traffic"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 17 (BTA)—In reply to inquiries by Bulgarian citizens who want to travel to the Republic of Turkey but fear that they will be unable to do so without let or hindrance at their convenience, the Consular Department of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs today released the following announcement:

"Since August 7, 1989, the Turkish services at the border checkpoints across Kapitan Andreevo and Malko Turnovo have been acting in a way that delays the crossing of Bulgarian citizens and their luggage into Turkish territory.

"The Turkish services at the border crossing between Malko Turnovo and Derekoy stop admitting people and processing their luggage several hours before the end of the bilaterally agreed working hours. The passenger processing capacities of the Kapitan Andreevo-Kapikule Border Checkpoint are underutilized, too.

"On August 16, 1989, the director general of the railways in Turkey Tekin Cinar notified the director general of the Bulgarian State Railways Veselin Pavlov that as from August 17, 1989, the Turkish side will no longer accept train service No. 481, running for Turkey via Svilengrad.

"These actions by the Turkish side impede the normal cross-border traffic and result in a dramatic reduction of the number of the Bulgarian citizens leaving for Turkey.

"The Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria is taking measures to solve the problems that have arisen."

Turkish Border 'Blocked With Human Bodies'
AU1708183389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Aug 89 p 2

[Undated Report by Andrey Andreev, manager of the Svilengrad Press Center: "The Border Was Blocked With Human Bodies"]

[Text] There is no interruption in the flow of Bulgarian citizens departing for Turkey via the border checkpoints at Kapitan Andreevo, Svilengrad Railway Station, and Malko Turnovo. One gets the impression that our fellow countrymen from Razgrad and Varna Oblasts are taking the most baggage with them. The cars coming from Khaskovo Oblast are loaded with less baggage.

Despite the unabating noisy propaganda on the Turkish television and radio and in the Turkish newspapers, which asserts that their "fellow countrymen" are allegedly returning to "the homeland," the other side is constantly creating difficulties for travelers. We have already spoken about the unilateral closing of the border by Turkey for 5 hours. This created difficulties not only for the departing Bulgarian Muslims, but also for hundreds of tourists traveling from Europe. I was at the border post and saw with my own eyes how the Turkish police and customs officials were making our departing fellow countrymen sit down on the asphalt in the neutral zone, thus stopping the traffic in both directions. At the same time Turkish television abruptly announced in a direct report that Bulgaria had allegedly closed the border. Unfortunately, our neighbor's state leaders also repeated the same lie in the main evening news program. What is more, the Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ichal Batu [name as transliterated] stated that the Turkish side will take countermeasures.

The term "countermeasures" probably refers to the attitude taken toward our fellow countrymen who are returning to Bulgaria. They are taking away their passports, beating them, forcing them to sign declarations that they will not engage in anti-Turkish propaganda in Bulgaria, taking their fingerprints, and detaining them for weeks at the border, thus violating their right to return to their native land when they wish.

Readers Complain of Goods Shortages in Poll
AU1708175589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[Khristo Karlukovski "commentary": "Existence of 'Planned Shortages'"]

[Excerpts] In issue No. 13,224 of OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 27 July this year an express inquiry was published on behalf of the information service of the Consumers Council. The inquiry was aimed at identifying groups of goods in short supply and the regions in which shortages had recently appeared. To date the newspaper has received over 50 completed inquiry forms.

Many of them relate to everyday consumer goods. Let us begin with refrigerators. The hot summer days have brought their absence from the market into prominence. It was not so very long ago when one could buy oneself a refrigerator without difficulty in all electrical shops. The picture is different now. Ivan Todorov Ivanov, of entrance B, apartment block 8, "Izgrev" Housing Complex, Burgas, answered the questions on the form as follows: "We are two families with a small child living in one apartment. We had a 'Mraz 140' refrigerator for communal use, but it broke down 5 months ago. The 'Precision Mechanics' service organization declined to repair it because they were short of spare parts. We cannot buy a new model because none are on sale." Snezhana Sotirova, a bookkeeper from the town of Gulyantsi, Lovech Oblast, wrote to us that, although it is difficult, after much waiting and through personal contacts and bribes one can hope to acquire a refrigerator. [passage omitted]

The "Anton Ivanov" Refrigerator Plant answers these reports from worried consumers with silence and empty stores. Is this the best and most honorable way to achieve a market dialogue with the consumer? Our question rather lies in the field of rhetoric, because we are hardly likely to get an answer from the organizations entrusted with the production of refrigerators. Nor does the matter at issue only relate to refrigerators. The lack of electric irons (reported by a Burgas reader) and of vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and heating elements for water heaters (according to a reader in Vidin) is a fact that stems from the failure of "Elprom" in Varna to pay attention to consumer needs over many months. To this list of domestic goods we can add the shortage of kitchen cabinets (with left- and right-handed sinks). We were informed of this by Violeta and Emil Nikolov from the village of Negovanovtsi, Mikhaylovgrad Oblast. The Kolev family, from entrance B, floor 15, apartment block 80, 173 Positano Street, Sofia, has been looking for a "Resprom"-produced bathroom cabinet for 6 months. Our list is a long one. Stoyan Velikov, of 5 Gyurgevo Street, Ruse, is concerned about black and white cotton thread, rubber hoses, and writing paper. He is right when he writes that "the Bulgarian is quite capable of working just as well as the Austrian and the Finn," but he continues: "If you want to write a letter, you have to buy a school notebook and tear a page out of it." We have no reports on any boom in the genre of letter-writing, but maybe that is the reason for the lack of writing paper in Ruse. However, this is a fact for which someone who is receiving pay from the state is responsible. [passage omitted]

It is very difficult to identify the weakest link in the "producer-tradesman-customer" chain, because there are many reasons for the shortages, both plainly evident ones and reasons concealed behind edicts, orders, departmental interests, and so on. Let us mention just one such reason, namely the physical reality of the refusal of the production enterprises to manufacture consumer goods. Indeed, the extent of this refusal has been measured. For 1989 the value of the products for which no contracts have been agreed amounts to 1,800 million leva. The officials of the Ministry of Planning Economy are well aware of this figure, but it seems that the forces of resistance in industry are winning the contest with the ministry at the moment, despite the fact that the ministry is the coordinator of the industrial enterprises and in essence is their sole leader. We admit that both sides are making logical claims, but in the final analysis these claims bring production to a standstill and guarantee shortages.

Balev Meets Party Leadership in Blagoevgrad

AU1708195589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Milko Balev paid a visit to Blagoevgrad today. He had a meeting with the party and state leadership of Sofia Oblast and with the first secretaries of the municipal party committees in the region.

Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of Sofia Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, gave a report on the fulfillment of the current tasks in industry and agriculture, collecting the harvest, and mobilizing the population and the labor collectives to implement the annual plans for the socioeconomic development of the settlements in the Rhodopes region.

In his speech, Comrade Milko Balev spoke on the chief issues that are being resolved at present in the field of restructuring sociopolitical life in Bulgaria, on the fulfillment of certain tasks relating to the national economic complex, and on the patriotic education of the workers and the youth.

Ecology Forum Organizing Committee Meets

AU1708174489 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 17 Aug 89

["Sofia Prepares To Host European Ecological Forum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 17 (BTA)—The European ecological meeting in Sofia (October 16-November 3) will be one of the most important events held in this country in 1989. Bulgaria is working hard to prepare for the organisation of this forum. Two months before the opening of the meeting, the national organising committee, which met today, found that the preparations are making fine progress.

The Executive Secretariat of the conference is already operational. Two major documents linked to Bulgaria's participation in the ecological forum are being drafted at accelerated rates: the national programme for environmental protection up to the year 2000 and the environmental protection and regeneration bill.

The national organising committee laid down further measures to speed up work on the formulation of Bulgaria's positions on the main points of the discussion: the prevention and mitigation of the transboundary effects of industrial accidents, the problems concerning potentially hazardous chemicals, and the pollution of transboundary river flows and international lakes.

So far the national organising committee has received several suggestions from Bulgarian and foreign public organisations and committees to hold symposiums, conferences, round-table discussions and other accompanying events to the meeting with Europe's ecological problems on their agenda, and more specifically pollution control of the River Danube and the Black Sea, European ecological cooperation, ecological security in Europe, etc.

Tanchev Receives Cuban Farmers Delegation

AU1708154089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[Excerpts] Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and first deputy chairman of the State Council, received a delegation of the National Association of Small Farmers of Cuba led by Luis Gonzalez, the association's first vice president. The delegation is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the BZNS.

A discussion took place on further expanding the traditional cooperation between the two organizations, which will contribute to developing Bulgarian-Cuban political, economic, and cultural relations. [passage omitted]

At the meeting emphasis was laid on the great importance of the restructuring in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which is linked with the restructuring of international relations. It was stressed that the Soviet peace initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev open up new opportunities for East-West dialogue and for radically improving the world situation. Support was voiced for Cuba's peace-loving policy and the efforts of the Latin American countries to achieve a peaceful settlement of the issues in Latin America. [passage omitted]

The meeting took place in a warm friendly atmosphere.

Defense Minister Dzhurov Issues Navy Day Order

AU1708161789 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Aug 89 p 1

["Order of the Day" issued by Dobri Dzhurov, minister of National Defense, on Bulgarian Navy Day, 13 August]

[Text] Comrade sailors, soldiers, and cadets; comrade petty officers and sergeants; comrade officers, admirals, and generals; comrade workers and military employees; comrade sailors of the reserve:

We celebrate Bulgarian Navy Day on 13 August. Established 110 years ago with the selfless assistance of our Russian brothers and liberators, following the 9 September 1944 revolution, our Navy became a truly capable force, a reliable guard watching over the motherland's sea borders. Our Navy has developed and strengthened over the last 45 years, under the wise leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Our sailors are constantly improving their combat skills, learning from the experience of their Soviet comrades in arms, and side by side with them they are demonstrating the unshakable unity of the Warsaw Pact soldiers in near and distant seas.

The anniversary report of our Black Sea Fleet is something to be proud of. In the long and difficult sea voyages and exercises and in the struggle against the stormy seas, our sailors improved the combat readiness of the ships and units; they acquired solid navy experience. The striving to achieve high quality standards in their training-combat activities was crowned with excellent and good results in theoretical lessons, as well as in accomplishing firing and specialized tasks, and this also applies to performance-testing exercises, to combat firing exercises, to the joint squadron with the USSR Black Sea Navy, to inspectors checks, and night watch duties. The complicated military-political situation on the Balkan peninsula even more closely rallied the navy collectives and mobilized them for selflessly and highly effectively accompliishing military duties, as well as in mastering the highest skills in naval affairs.

The navy personnel have proved their qualifications for being the worthy successors of the glorious militant and revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian torpedo boat "Druzki" and the cruiser "Nadezhda," of the immortal cause that glorified revolutionaries such as Ivan Zagubanski, Anton Ivanov, and Nikola Vaptsarov.

Officers, petty officers, and sailors with high professional training and a sense of responsibility, loyal to the legacy of the first builders of the socialist Navy are serving in our divisions aboard ship and in coastal units today. They are contributing to the acceleration of restructuring within the Navy.

Comrade sailors, soldiers, and cadets; comrade petty officers and sergeants; comrade officers, admirals, and generals; comrade workers and military employees; sailors of the reserve:

I most sincerely congratulate you on the occasion of Navy Day!

I wish that all of you may achieve even greater, new successes in maintaining the naval forces in permanent combat readiness, in implementing the July Concept of the BCP Central Committee.

On the occasion of the solemn celebration of Navy Day, I order fireworks to take place on 13 August in the city of Varna.

Long live our Navy!

Glory to the BCP, the organizer and source of inspiration of all of our victories!

May our beloved motherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, strengthen and prosper!

Signed: Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Civil Rights Activists Arrested for Incitement

AU1708150589 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 17 Aug 89 p 1

[KNA report: "Four Civil Rights Activists Arrested in the CSSR"]

[Text] A few days before the 21st anniversary of the crushing of the "Prague Spring" by troops of the Warsaw Pact states, four civil rights activists were arrested in the CSSR. The people arrested are Jan Carnogursky, a leading Catholic civil rights activist; Miroslaw Kusy, signatory of the human rights charter; the writer Hanna Ponicka; and the Catholic civil rights activist Anton Selecky. All four were charged with disturbing public order and incitement. The playwright Vaclav Havel warned against demonstrating in the streets at this anniversary to avoid exposing the lives of his fellow countrymen to unnecessary danger.

Interior Ministry on Charges

LD1808040289 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 17 (CTK)—Jan Carnogursky, Miroslav Kusy, Hana Ponicka and Anton Selecky have been accused in Bratislava of incitement according to paragraph 100 of the Penal Code. Jan Carnogursky and Miroslav Kusy were further accused of carrying out subversive activities against the Republic according to paragraph 98, Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior, informed today.

Carnogursky and Kusy are in custody.

Leader Set Free, Others Detained

AU1708192889 Paris AFP in English 1831 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug 17 (AFP)—Opposition leader Stanislav Devaty has been released and placed in a civilian hospital after 10 days on hunger strike, the Charter 77 human rights group said here Thursday.

The arrest of Mr. Devaty, 37, on August 7 was the third in a year. He had previously spent 28 and 19 days in prison in March and May before being released. He is still being charged with "incitement to rebellion" and may face several years in prison, close associates said. Mr. Devaty's political collaborators launched a campaign on August 15 to press for his release.

Action included symbolic hunger strikes, petitions, and the sending of an open letter to the Soviet Union and non-communist countries who participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Mr. Devaty was a former spokesman for the Charter 77 group and one of the initiators of the "A Few Sentences" petition which collected some 17,000 signatures and called on the Czech government to open a dialogue with the opposition and implement democratic reforms.

Meanwhile, two Slovak opposition leaders have been imprisoned, the Interior ministry said here Thursday. Catholic militant Jan Carnogursky and the philosopher Miroslav Kusy could receive sentences of up to 10 years for incitement to rebellion. The two men addressed an open letter to the Slovak government on August 4, calling on the population to dedicate Sunday to "the memory of those shot in 1968" when Soviet tanks crushed the Prague Spring.

The federal Czech government banned Thursday any form of demonstration on the 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion which began on the night of August 20, 1968.

"The anti-socialist groups, backed by foreigners wanted to distort the anniversary of August 21, 1968 with the aim of inciting tension and violence," an official statement said.

Czech opposition leaders have called on the population to "walk" in town centres Monday and to observe a minute silence in memory of the victims of the invasion. But opposition playwright Vaclav Havel on Thursday echoed calls by other opposition figures this week for people to stay at home because the authorities could use the occasion to crack down. In a written declaration, Mr. Havel warned that the authorities could seize the opportunity for confrontation "to intimidate the population" through violence.

"I know that in history there are moments that require great risks and great sacrifices, but I feel that the time has not come today," said Mr. Havel, a Charter 77 spokesman. He said it would be senseless to take to the streets "at a time when the authorities are eagerly waiting to strike violently and break the effort to democratize."

Credibility of Walesa, Solidarity Questioned

AU1808133089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Aug 89 p 7

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "Walesa Wants To Be Premier"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa is willing to take over the post of Polish premier. According to an AFP report, this is what he declared to representatives of the press in Gdansk Tuesday [15 August] night.

In an interview for Polish radio the same day, he said that the changes in Poland should be such as 'not to upset' the arrangement that has taken shape in Europe and 'not to be detrimental' to the commitments of Poland arising from its membership in the Warsaw Pact. [passage omitted]

Commenting on these statements, political observers in Warsaw point out that, after its legalization, Solidarity has repeatedly broken its word. It also violated the agreement reached at the roundtable concerning the formation of a new government confirmed by the Parliament. First, the Solidarity leaders claimed that they would not join the government and that they would only act as parliamentary opposition. Later, Michnik, a leading representive of the opposition, came up with the formula "'your' (coalition) president, 'our' (opposition) premier." In the following days, Solidarity then laid claim to the entire government. Only later did it concede the possibility of a cabinet formed with the participation of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, until now coalition partners of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], that is, a cabinet without Communists. On Tuesday, finally, Walesa declared that one might leave for the PZPR those government ministries that are vital for the security interests of the Polish People's Republic, such as the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior.

Polish Statement on 1968 Events 'Interference'

LD1708170189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The 2d day of the Sejm session in Poland began today with a reading of the government bill on changes in the legislation on the social fund of the countryside. [passage omitted] In the afternoon session, Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski presented the deputies with the government bill on the most pressing changes in the budget law.

The Polish Sejm then went on to adopt a statement on the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. This statement expresses the well-known stand of Solidarity already outlined in Friday's [11 August] statement by the Polish Senate, in which the opposition is in the absolute majority. Solidarity, which is also playing an increasingly decisive role in the Sejm has once again pushed through this blatant interference into the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, which it has been intensively pursuing lately, and this runs counter to new thinking, to the democratic relations between peoples and states, and to the principles of restructuring as we understand them in our country. At the same time, it is a clear attempt to support those forces in Czechoslovakia which are trying to cause unrest and destabilize social development. [passage omitted]

Assembly Rejects Statement

LD1808102989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] The Presidiums of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly discussed and adopted today a standpoint on the statement of the Senate and the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. It says: According to reports published by some Polish communications media, the Senate, and soon after that, the Polish Sejm, adopted statements recently in which they refer incompetently to the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and distort their significance in the further development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The Presidiums of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly express astonishment at these statements which, by their contents, represent gross interference in the internal affairs of the CSSR, and categorically reject them. At the same time, they reject the assessment of democracy in Czechoslovakia from the position of Polish antisocialist forces.

The statements contradict the traditionally good relations of friendship and all-around cooperation of our peoples and countries. The form and the timing of the statement serve illegal groups in Czechoslovakia in their subversive activities in connection with the events of August 1968. The assessment of Czechoslovak history is an inalienable right of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, and the Czechoslovak deputies insist that this right be fully respected. The Czechoslovak state and its people have their representatives and other organs which guard the sovereignty of the socialist state and take care of the happy life of its citizens. Our people cannot be deterred from socialism, development, and improvement of socialist democracy by means of restructuring.

PAP Cites CTK Criticism

LD1808142789 Warsaw PAP in English 1348 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug. 18—The CTK Czechoslovak press agency described the statement on the anniversary of the armed intervention of the Warsaw Treaty in Czechoslovakia in 1968, issued by the Polish Sejm (lower chamber of parliament) on Thursday, as "a clear attempt to back those forces in Czechoslovakia which strive to arouse unrest in the country and to destabilize social development."

CTK went on to say: "The statement reflects the well-known stance of 'Solidarity' already contained in the statement issued on Friday by the Senate in which the Polish opposition hold an absolute majority. "Solidarity", which plays an increasingly decisive role in the Sejm, also here carried out an unmasked intervention in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia which it has done more than once of late and which is contradictory to new thinking and democratic relations between nations and countries, with principles of perestroyka in the spirit in which they are understood in Czechoslovakia.

Diplomatic Note to Hungary Over Nagymaros

LD1808142589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Today Czechoslovakia handed Hungary a diplomatic note on the position adopted by the federal government regarding the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroworks system.

The document insists on the fulfillment of the agreement on constructing this hydroworks system, pointing out the damage arising as a consequence of the lagging behind the scheduled building work, and warns that Czechoslovakia will claim compensation.

The federal government's note stresses again that the responsibility for the consequences of unilateral decisions by the Hungarian Government is borne exclusively by the Hungarian side because the decisions were adopted contrary to international law.

Government Statement Issued on Restructuring

LD1708172889 Prague CTK in English 1550 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 17 (CTK)—"With the feeling of responsibility towards people and the socialist homeland, the Czechoslovak Government considers it necessary to address these days the following statement to the citizens of Czechoslovakia," said a statement issued by the Czechoslovak Government here today.

"The program of restructuring and democratization, implemented on the initiative and under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, supported by the broad strata of the population, is successfully developing and entering a new stage. From the beginning of 1990 Czechoslovakia will transfer to new conditions of economy and management to increase the efficiency. A new draft constitution is being prepared and will be submitted to the people for discussion. The work on a number of other significant laws aimed at improving the political system, deepening the democratic character of the Czechoslovak state and implementing civil rights is intensively continuing. We share actively in the international dialogue leading to the lessening of tension in the world which enables us to cut military expenditures, develop peaceful cooperation and friendship with all nations," the statement continued.

The key task is to better satisfy everyday needs of the people with active participation of the citizens and ensure their social certainties. "To achieve this our society needs above all honest work, peace and a calm atmosphere. Only thus the transition to new conditions can be carried out in an organized way, without chaos and negative impacts on the living and work conditions of the people."

It is not accidental that at a time so significant for the further process of restructuring and democratization, anti-socialist groups, supported from abroad, want to misuse the anniversary of August 21, 1968, with the aim to provoke tension and violence. Regardless of the demagogy they use, their actions are objectively directed against restructuring and democratization, basic human values, against socialism.

"The Government of Czechoslovakia, being aware of its constitutional responsibility, is determined in harmony with the demands of the work teams and individuals from our whole Republic, to prevent these anti-social intentions, ensure lawfulness, peace and order. It appeals to all citizens to support its effort by their deeds and stands," the statement concluded.

Noted Professors on Restructuring, Values

AU1708172489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by Prof Karel Rychtrarik, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, director of the Public Opinion Research Institute attached to the Federal Statistical Office, and Prof Miloslav Spacek, deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee: "Values of the Revolution and Restructuring; Socialism in the Dialectics of Developments."]

[Text] **On the basis of experience and the lessons from building socialism in our country, the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] has reached a conclusion on the necessity of restructuring all spheres of our social life. At the 17th CPCZ Congress, the necessity of restructuring was expressed as the strategic line of the acceleration of the social and economic development of our society, and to this day it is being gradually deepened and implemented as a comprehensive program for restructuring the economic mechanism and further deepening socialist democracy. It is a program of far-reaching revolutionary changes in the base as well as in the superstructure, in shaping social relations in such a way as to place our society on a qualitatively higher developmental level.** The question "what next?" has to be answered in the spirit of the idea of the Manifesto of the Communist Party—**"to be forever a driving force."** This answer requires that we objectively assess the results achieved and the real possibilities for releasing all the creative potential of our society. Assessments reveal that the model of socialism to date, as has been molded in our country in the postwar period, has exhausted the possibility of dynamically developing itself further. We have become aware of its barriers and are gradually implementing the decisions on restructuring the economic mechanism and reforming the political system. These changes must be founded on socialist democratism, a broad flow of information, and the creation of maximum scope for the working people to assert themselves as sovereign managers and rulers in society, which is truly their work, their affair. The real [realna] form of socialism is being born from both the positive and negative experiences of generations in one country, and on the basis of the experiences of various countries. A uniform, an absolute model of socialism does not exist. The concept of socialism as a social system presupposes a number of variants of socialist development in various countries and in different periods. This changes nothing in the fact that socialism—by its essence—is international. **Socialism is a**

society which eliminates the causes of the economic exploitation of man by man, and creates relations of equality of all people vis-a-vis the means of production. This equality eliminates the ownership privileges which make exploitation possible, and grants the working people the right to jointly participate in decisionmaking, management, control, and the application of all achieved results. These must be real, factual rights, based on real and not formal activity and the social status of being real owners and managers. As soon as what is real and factual has been replaced by what is formal and in which administratively-bureaucratic measures dominate, socialist society gets itself into complex conflicts, and a situation arises which is described as alienation. This manifests itself quite concretely and negatively in economics, politics, and the moral sphere, and can be projected in lack of fulfillment, and the deformation and destruction of social and human relations. Therefore, the purpose of restructuring in the sphere of ownership relations is to overcome what is formal and achieve a genuine socialization of the means of production and the entire social wealth with the help of various forms of socialist ownership. We are doing this with absolute sincerity and honest efforts, so that a working person would become a real manager of his workshop, plant, and enterprise, so that he would become the master and representative of his country with the right to manage and make decisions. We are rejecting methods of management which lead to crises, anarchy in production, and unemployment. This is completely at odds with the demands for social security, which only socialism grants to the working man.

The notion that "a bit of unemployment" will lead to greater "effectiveness" in work must be rejected as an unacceptable instrument for achieving intensive production. The right to work and full employment are a part of social security, which fulfills the aspirations and efforts of generations of the workers class.

The advantages of a system based on social ownership of the crucial means of production must manifest itself evidently, daily, and quite concretely, precisely in the issue of social security.

Socialism is a democratic social system which programatically develops the rights and freedoms of the working people and sets all creative forces into motion.

Social democracy is not the rhetoric of intellectual elites submerged in a euphoria of phrases about freedom and democracy in general, regardless of the material situation of those whom this concerns in the first place, or regardless of the unity of rights and freedoms on the one hand, and duties and responsibility on the other.

Where one forgets that the bourgeoisie also wants to "democratically" use ownership of the means of production and political power, above all, for its egotistic, class interests, and where ideas about some sort of absolute freedom and democracy in general are systematically forced upon the workers class and the working people, the "program of adaptation" can serve well as an instrument of political manipulation. The ideological "adaptation" is to discredit communist ideals and our movement is to be driven "onto the rubbish heap of history." For the dialectical-materialistic interpretation of the world of people, nature, and thinking, there exist certain values which no "reassessment" can change.

The development of socialist democracy must set into motion the creative forces of society, and as a consequence it can never be aimed against the working people's innermost interests.

The union of the workers class and all working people is the foundation of the social strength of socialist society. The historic mission of the workers class "to be the gravedigger of capitalism" is being fulfilled in the broad coalition of all the working people's interests.

For example, in recent years, because of the influence of both objective and subjective causes, the prestige of the workers class and of workers' labor has markedly declined. As if the principle of its leading role were "watered down." Not infrequently, those who have bureaucratically benumbed this principle, and more than once even made it profane in a vulgar way, are today assuming a countenance as if the workers class "had dropped out of the history of socialism." However, these manifestations of disparagement and of weakening change nothing of the historical role of this decisive force of socialism.

Obviously, today the structure of the workers class is radically changing in the same way as is its position in production. However, it still remains the most important political force.

The current of revolutionary continuity always brings to the surface wastes which pollute the river of history. Even the purest ideal wilts in dirt and an artificially created pseudoworld. But who, if not the workers class, primarily constitutes the pure stream of the river? **If today we need every kind of firm civic character, sober approach and responsibility, and courage and willingness to assume the risks which accompany non-traditional solutions, then despite all the influences of the present day, it is above all the workers class that has those character traits.**

In the same way that the Communist Party is, above all, the party of the workers class, the workers class was and remains the fundamental social force of socialist society.

If society is not to be buffeted by winds of "right and left deformations," if socialism is not to be only a short-term historical experiment, then the party must systematically analyze, follow, direct, and conceive the fundamental issues of the strategy of socioeconomic and ideopolitical processes.

Experience has taught us many things. It showed that it is incorrect to supplant the direct managing duties of the state bodies, that only under conditions of broad, intra-party democracy is it is possible to conceive issues pertaining to the creative development of party theory and party work. It will be necessary to make an evaluation of both how its very leading role has been changing under the new conditions, and the new stimuli for the development of the union of the parties and organizations in the National Front.

The party has chosen a path of a broad coalition with each and every body that has socialism and the needs and interests of the people at heart. Such a course does not at all mean the legalization of groups with a counterrevolutionary orientation, which today attack in particular the ideopolitical foundations of the socialist society and strive to negate everything positive that has been created in the past decades.

The humanitarianism of socialist society must become the content of real [realne] everyday relations among people. By ensuring social justice, and this is not only the demand of an ideal, but the fundamental directive of the entire socioeconomic and cultural-political practice, it creates objective prerequisites for man—through his own development—to become the "goal in itself" and, at the same time, also the instrument for the development of all other people.

To socialism, man is the creator and user of everything. He is a unique individual part of living nature. He is the homo faber (creature of labor) who harbors the ideas and aspirations, wishes and yearnings, pleasures and vexations, and pride and shame of mankind. Therefore, in socialism it is very important that each sphere of society's life—beginning with the "little things" and ending with big goals, is assessed from the viewpoint of the possibility of realizing the needs and interests of man.

In a certain situation, the world of ethical and interhuman relations is becoming the most important thing in politics, culture, science, the economy, and the family. We are not lacking intellect and diligence, tenacity or ambition. Not infrequently we are rather lacking considerateness and kindness, the feeling for the pain and joy of others.

The first and most important requirement of man living at the turning point of the millenium is that he continue to be preserved, that he live consistently and humanly. To do this he has to find the strength to eliminate the curse of economic exploitation, the threat of a global nuclear catastrophe and ecological self-destruction. These threats are becoming the new, Promethean test of mankind.

In the new situation of socialist society, he seeks and realizes his possibilities, and he wants to and has to develop further his natural abilities to be cognizant and to create. In the dialectics of this cognizance and creativity there exists no set of irreversible truths or unchangeable precepts. And thus we are actually seeking all the time, and are always beginning anew. No one will explain the problems that have ensued for us or rebuild life.

Today, the new strategy of socialism and the fulfillment of its real perspectives are built not on critical poses, but on creative seeking and constructive commitment. They remain the sole humane alternative of mankind.

Cuba Differs on Development of Socialism

AU1708111889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Aug 89 p 6

[Jan Skoda article: "On Isidoro Malmierca's Visit to Czechoslovakia; Against Those Who Would Like To Divide Us"]

[Text] The extensive exchange of views with the ranking representatives of our state and the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] intimates that both sides are very satisfied with the last week's brief visit by Isidoro Malmierca, Cuba's minister of foreign relations, to Czechoslovakia. The two partners are firm components of the socialist community which is undergoing a stage of all-round restructuring and perfection of the social system, a matter which—understandably—also influences the content of the mutual dialogue.

This dialogue becomes, as affirmed by I. Malmierca's talks in Prague, an opportunity to exchange views on bilateral relations, as well as evaluate the present international situation. For years now, we have been assessing the Czechoslovak-Cuban relations as being very intensive, and we are interested in developing them more with respect to quality rather than extent, which—in view of the current requirements—is logical. The first meeting of experts on the coordination of the national economic plans, which will involve the further perfection of the already traditional forms of trade, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation, as well as new suggestions, is slated for September.

In the mutual relations between Cuba and Czechoslovakia, there are no contentious unresolved issues, although the views on some phenomena in the development of socialism might differ. After all, one must not forget that conditions for the development of socialism in the heart of Europe are different from those in the middle of the Caribbean, in the immediate vicinity of the mightiest capitalist country—the United States.

In the West, voices can be heard which are trying to distort the purpose and the objectives of the restructuring changes in the socialist countries, which are proclaiming "the end of socialism" or "the beginning of the socialist countries' disintegration." At the recent celebrations of the anniversary of the attack on the Moncada military barracks in Camaguey, Cuba's highest representative Fidel Castro stressed that the United States counts on the disintegration of the unity of the

socialist countries, on Cuba's becoming isolated and easier to defeat. This calculation has also cropped up in the concept of Bush's new Latin American policy. The visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Cuba has disproved any such speculations.

The right of every country and nation to an independent choice of social system and the path of development is inalienable. Such is the joint stand of Cuba and Czechoslovakia, affirmed at the recent talks between the Cuban minister and Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and other Czechoslovak representatives. "The Cuban people have chosen the path of the construction of socialism, and are determined to safeguard it with a weapon in their hand. This is the choice of our people. And we will assert this choice independently of the paths other countries might choose," I. Malmierca said during a press conference. By saying this, he reacted precisely to attempts to equate all socialist countries. What is good for one country, does not have to be good for another. Today Cuba faces attacks which also exploit some domestic economic problems.

Socialist Cuba enjoys great prestige on the Latin American Continent. It achieved this after the revolution, after years of a difficult struggle for independence in the face of a strong pressure from American imperialism which, as the Cubans stress on the basis of their experience, has not changed the anticommunist objectives of its foreign policy. Cuba's standing in the world, especially in the Nonaligned Movement and on the Latin American Continent, are also the result of the internationalist policy and solidarity of the European socialist countries. Those who would like to divide us must know that the processes both of restructuring and rectification of shortcomings and errors have not changed a thing.

Stepan Receives French Counterpart Malberg

AU1708115589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Aug 89 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Comrade Miroslav Stepan received Henri Malberg, first secretary of the French Communist Party city organization in Paris, in Prague on Monday [14 August]. In a comradely conversation they briefed each other on the topical political tasks facing the Prague and Paris party organizations. Henri Malberg is in the CSSR at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee.

GDR's Heusinger Meets Kucera, Kaspar in Prague

AU1608130489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Further Judicial Cooperation Discussed With CSSR; Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger Held Talks in Prague"]

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and GDR minister of justice, concluded his 2-day visit to the CSSR on Wednesday [9 August]. In a concluding, friendly talk in Prague with Dr Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the politicians briefed each other on tasks in the two states' further development. The role of socialist law and the necessity for its continuous perfection and strict implementation in the interest of strengthening the confidential relationship between the citizens and the state, in order to support the economic strategy and ensure the protection of all that serves the socialist society, were stressed.

An exchange of experiences with CSSR Justice Minister Dr Antonin Kaspar, who had invited the GDR minister, dealt with constitutional issues and the activities of the judicial organs to safeguard the stability of the law. The talk's participants paid tribute to the results of the cooperation achieved so far, which are based on the many years of friendly and fraternal relations. At the same time, they made agreements on cooperation in the near future.

In addition, the delegation headed by Minister Heusinger met with Attorney General Prof Dr Jan Pjescak and Dr Josef Ondrej, president of the CSSR Supreme Court.

Calls for Trade Union Pluralism Rejected

AU1708141689 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Aug 89 p 5

[Editorial: "On the Illegal Groups' Campaigns Against the Unity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement; Trade Unions and the Democratization of Society"]

[Excerpts] **Lately, various provocative campaigns by illegal structures have been multiplying; campaigns which strive for the destabilization of our domestic political situation, and for confrontation with our socialist state and its social system. Part of this is the Few Sentences pamphlet, its authors and collaborators now diligently soliciting signatures among the public, which unambiguously contains demands aimed at overthrowing the socialist system in our country.**

Hand in hand with this also goes the endeavor to disparage and undermine the social authority of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] and its standing within the country's political system by calling for the establishment of some kinds of "independent trade unions."

Nothing New Under the Sun

This is not the first call for so-called independent trade unions. Many of us still remember the particularly sharp struggle waged for trade unions in the years of crisis of 1968-69. Then too, antisocialist forces escalated their attempts and pressure to smash the unity of the trade union movement. The direction in which things were going was obvious: Under the slogan of a "new trade

union policy," one begun proclaiming and asserting in practice theses about "trade unions without Communists." There even were instances of establishing various so-called organizations outside the ROH framework—for example the Federation of the Lokomotive Squads, whose management was in the hands of outright counterrevolutionary elements. What was then being asserted under the demagogic slogans of the "rectification of errors" and a "new trade union policy" were in fact direct attacks on the fundamental principles of socialism and the position of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] in society, and on the unity of the trade union movement; it was the intention to break them up organizationally and politically, to subvert them, to atomize them. Involved then, as now, was a programmatic effort to wage a direct attack on the united strength of the workers class and the working people represented by the united ROH, to transform trade unions into a force in opposition to the CPCZ and its policy and the policy of the National Front, of which the ROH is the numerically strongest mass organization. **This, precisely, is what also today bothers the spokesmen of the illegal structures most. If they achieved a state where mass organizations, such as the united trade unions in our country, stopped supporting our states's leading political force, this would weaken the socialist system and lead to political—and not only to political—convulsions. And this is precisely what our class adversaries and the organizers of the antisocialist campaigns are after in the first place.**

No matter how much the opponents of the socialist system deny this, we assert the following: **No political system—neither capitalist nor socialist—can talk about an "independence" of trade unions of the class interests, of a policy which expresses these class interests, of the political party or their coalition which formulate and implement this policy in practice.** [passage omitted]

Making Unity Come True Is a Continuous Process

The attack on the unity of trade unions is an attack on the unity of the workers class. We avail ourselves of conclusive evidence from the years of crisis 1968-69 when the fragmentation of the ROH and individual trade unions into professional unions, and the formation of autonomous sections were aimed at breaking the unity of the workers class, and at pushing it out of its leading role in society. In other words, the attack on the unity of trade unions and the accentuation of occupational and social differences and of professional distinctions pits individual categories of the work force against one another—skilled workers against unskilled workers, workers against technicians, one set of professions against others, and so forth. In other countries, it was also found that, in the long run, such practice is not beneficial. **This is why the principle of "one factory, one organization," which has stood the test of time in our country, is, and will remain, the cornerstone of the ROH structure.**

Achieving the unity of trade unions is a continuous process comprising ideological, political, as well as organizational factors. At the root of this process lies democratic centralism based on local initiative, on the living tissue of relations between trade union bodies and organizations, between ROH members and other working people. This requires that the methods, forms, and style of work and the activity of the whole organization be subordinated to the principle "facing the factories, facing the masses."

The valid ROH statutes and consistent compliance with them in the life of trade union organizations and members, as well as in the relations between all-trade union bodies and individual trade unions, guarantees strengthening ROH's unity. **Therein also lies the foundation for the implementation of the pluralism of opinions and of political pluralism in the standing and activity of socialist trade unions.**

Pluralism Is Not an Abstract Term

Political pluralism is expressed and made possible in our society, above all, in the practical activity of National Front bodies and organizations. It is based on socialist democracy, which, unlike bourgeois democracy, does not permit social discrimination in any form. It not only proclaims the rights of man, but actually safeguards them through the socioeconomic system. **Under our conditions, this means that he who today calls for trade union pluralism, as demanded by the opposition forces, seeks the negation of positive experiences amassed over many years and the destruction of the unity and cohesion in action of our entire trade union movement.**

No one claims that de facto trade union pluralism does not exist in our society. Of course, it does not exist in the form of warring, rival so-called independent trade unions, professional groups, and so forth, but in the form of individual trade unions, which represent the interests and needs of the work force of individual branches within the framework of the united ROH. **It is precisely this system which expresses the objective, progressive direction of the trade union organization's development—the transition from the defense of parochial interests specific to a profession toward the solution of increasingly comprehensive problems of social development.** [passage omitted]

Something similar can be said about the demand for opinion pluralism. The democratic elements of the ROH structure and activity—regular membership meetings, production meetings, and so forth—create a sufficiently broad scope for members to assert their views and positions and to unfold their political and social involvement. A different matter is the use made of this scope at individual places. [passage omitted] Hence, the issue is not to create additional organizational structures, but the main, decisive, and crucial matter is to overcome the passivity of some primary organizations and their formalistic activity, to approach the ROH's work actively,

and to make use of all the opportunities to democratically express one's opinions and influence decisions which the ROH statutes provide. [passage omitted]

The crystallization of opinions, dialogue, and clashes of opinion producing practical proposals for the solution of specific problems are not conditional on organizational pluralism, as the opposition forces would like to make us believe. As the national all-trade conference and the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Trade Union Council quite unambiguously stressed, our aim is not to incite political disputes in society, but to honestly look for, and consistently apply, the best possible variants for the solution of problems by way of economic and social restructuring, in order to meet more and more fully the material and cultural needs of the working people.

Miners 'Nervous' About Coal Surplus, Jobs

AU1708141989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Aug 89 p 3

[Frantisek Zdobina article: "A Coal Surplus—Belated Measures"]

[Excerpts] Several times I heard the miners in Most sigh: When there is little coal it is bad but when there is a lot, then, it is even worse. [passage omitted]

Not long ago in the North Bohemia Lignite Basin, at the Most plant, praise was being heaped on the miners because, since the beginning of the 5-year plan, the plant had provided the national economy with 6 million tonnes of coal in excess of the plan. Now the basin is "pleading" for a reduction in coal production. Interest in lignite is continuing to decline. Power plants are bursting at the seams with supplies, coal depot enterprises have announced that this year they will buy approximately 1,200,000 tonnes less than last year, industry will turn down 800,000 tonnes, and enterprises, with a few exceptions, are refusing to fulfill suppliers' contracts. The basin finds itself in an unusual situation. [passage omitted]

The reasons for the coal surplus, first and foremost, lie in the two past mild winters! Nor should we overlook energy produced at nuclear power plants in excess of the plan. Another argument is also worthy of consideration, an argument which was put forward in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] enterprise committee secretariat, that the slump in interest in coal can imply a slowing down of the dynamism of the development of the national economy. [passage omitted]

However, problems with the coal surplus have not only an economic, but also a social aspect. Forty-five-thousand people work in the basin. Their wages and special payments depend on the amount of coal extracted and the level of plan fulfillment. Miners working in deep mines lost wages and bonuses for their Saturday shifts; premiums, previously taken for granted, are no longer so easily obtained. There is nervousness in some places. People are asking what will happen next, whether the constraint on extraction is temporary or whether it is a tendency which is being enforced. This topic is discussed at every opportunity, at production consultations, and at party and trade union meetings. [passage omitted]

Resolutions are not being written and protest events are not being organized; the miners are only demanding that they be informed in time about everything that concerns them. The party and trade union organizations are united in this with them and are formulating noteworthy activity. The basin criticizes the economic organs for their slow and inconsistent decisionmaking, it recommends that the restructuring of the economic mechanism be accelerated, and that the decisionmaking authority of the enterprises and plants be increased.

The miners and management of the plant have a right to make these and similar complaints! The basin recorded the probability of a slump in the consumption of coal at the end of last year. It notified in time the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power, the State Planning Commission, and other institutions. After several urgent reminders, it finally received a reply—its extraction plan was reduced by 1.5 million tonnes and its profit generation by Kcs118 million. They are not satisfied with this gesture in Most. They know that, with regard to supply, they will have to bring extraction down by at least 2-3 million tonnes, which will be unavoidably projected in their profit generation and other funds. Therefore, tactfully but pressingly, the plant's management is requesting that systemic measures be drawn up, that there be more activity from the central organs, and it demands the maximum possible quantification of the needs of the national economy and the population with regard to coal supplies and the resolution of economic problems, while creating such reserve capacities that the basin will be capable of reacting to a possible need to increase extraction.

Put in simple terms: The basin's plan was set up using the old method with group 1 [skupina 1] preferences, with indicators far removed from the needs of life, and without the ability to react to changes in demand. The out-of-date administrative-directive methods of management still managed to put their imprint on the plan.

Nor are the customers blameless. They thought and acted as had been their habit. They increased demand, and now they are walking away from it with the knowledge that—let us quote Cyril Durnek, chairman of the CPCZ enterprise committee—so far, the economic contracts are not even worth a pack of cigarettes. [passage omitted]

So far, I have given priority to criticism directed at the higher economic organs and their offshoots; therefore, the impression could be given that the North Bohemia basin is only appealing for help and is itself sitting back and doing nothing. Reality is otherwise. It has stopped

taking on new employees; it has limited the employment of pensioners; it has sought alternative work for those sectors where activity must be restricted; wages will be more consistently differentiated in accordance with the fulfillment of economic tasks; the basin wants to carry out essential general repairs to machinery and equipment, first and foremost, on its own—outside specialists will only be brought in in unavoidable cases; it will keep tabs on the utilization of spare parts and the pressing nature of investments; it will limit the consumption of electricity, and so on. [passage omitted]

The marketing difficulties which the North Bohemian basin has come up against have stolen a march on the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Energy, which only now is preparing an attenuation program for the extraction of lignite and bituminous coal (although attenuation programs have been spoken about for years). Future days and weeks should bring a turnaround for the better, as is seen in a speech made by A. Krumnikl, CSSR minister for fuels and energy, at a recent joint meeting of the Federal Assembly chambers where he said that "for miners there will also be enough work and programs, which we are now completing, and after their approval, we will discuss them with them directly and directly with the working collectives in the state enterprises".

Good Harvest Results Reported in Slovakia

AU1708100389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Aug 89 p 1

[Marcela Vanorna article: "Better Quality, Higher Profit"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava/Prague (From our own correspondent)—Agricultural workers in the northern regions of Slovakia are harvesting their crops with considerable difficulty. It was often raining there during the first 10 days in August, or fog and the dampness of the crops prevented the combines from working to their full capacity.

On the other hand, in some southern regions of Slovakia hot weather affected production at a time when the crops were ripening. Floods in the East Slovak district also damaged crops. However, despite this the harvest's preliminary forecast looks good. This year in Slovakia they are even counting on exceeding the plan for grain procurement. [passage omitted]

According to information from the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Food, during 3 years of the 5-year plan, agricultural workers have exceeded grain procurement by 527,000 tonnes. As long as there is no natural disaster or the harvest of corn is not threatened by early September frosts, they want to add to this roughly another 250,000 tonnes in excess of the plan. However, even 1989's excellent harvest is 240,000 tonnes lower than last years' harvest. That was indeed a record year. [passage omitted]

Official Daily on 1968 Assistance to CSSR

LD1808093689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0110 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries a commentary headed "Our Solidarity With the CSSR and the 21st of August 1968." The text of the commentary is as follows:

Particularly close and friendly relations exist between the GDR and the CSSR. We are neighbors, socialist neighbors, and we always have worked together in the building of the new society in all spheres. The fraternal relationship between our party and the Czechoslovak Communist Party is one of trust and comradeship; its roots go back to the joint struggle of the German and Czechoslovak working class against imperialism, war, and fascism. This internationalist spirit is alive today in many thousands of relations between the people of the two socialist states, who are using their strength as comrades-in-arms and allies in the Warsaw Pact for socialism and peace. All this determines our attitude toward our Czechoslovak friends and comrades in both good days and bad. So it was 21 years ago when, on 21 August 1968, at the request of patriotic forces in the CSSR, five socialist states, including the GDR, rendered that fraternal country the internationalist assistance that had been requested.

At the end of the 1960's, an extremely tense international situation had arisen in which every disturbance of the strategic military balance was bound to bring about the greatest dangers to peace. In this situation, the Warsaw Pact states were pursuing a policy of consolidating peace, security, and cooperation in Europe which, in the following period, finally led to the Helsinki Final Act. They supported the laying down, in a form binding under international law, of the status quo that had come about as a result of World War II and postwar developments. This policy met with stubborn resistance from those NATO circles that did not want to acknowledge the new facts, that wanted to break up our defense alliance and roll back socialism in the style of Adenauer and Dulles.

In 1968, the CSSR appeared to the enemies of socialism to be the appropriate bridgehead for this. The internal political situation had worsened dramatically after the then party leaders, due to political heterogeneity and disunity, had proved themselves incapable of implementing the decisions made by the Central Committee at the beginning of the year for the solution of long-overdue problems. They were not able, as our Czechoslovak fraternal party assesses it today, to guide the increased social commitment of large sections of the people into the right channels to overcome mistakes and inadequacies. The unity of the party was weakened, and it was increasingly losing its leading role and its ability to act. The activities of right-wing and ever bolder antisocialist forces were increasing accordingly. The socialist state of the Czechs and Slovaks was running into grave danger. imperialist forces of various hues, primarily from the United States and the FRG, were trying to aggravate the crisis in any way possible. The main targets of the attacks by Western politicans and propagandists were the constitutional bases of the socialist CSSR and the country's alliance with the socialist defense alliance. Some NATO states went over to direct and large-scale interference in the internal affairs of the CSSR, so that as a result of the combined effect of antisocialist forces from both without and within, serious threats arose to socialism and the peace of our continent.

In this dangerous situation, once all other means of stopping the disastrous development had been exhausted, the internationalist help provided by the fraternal socialist countries on 21 August 1968, which was requested by the responsible patriotic forces in the CSSR, proved to be the only effective way out. Thus, imperialist interference in the internal affairs of a socialist state was prevented and stability on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO was ensured. Through this joint action socialism was protected and a change in the political and military balance of power to the advantage of imperialism was prevented. That was of great importance for peace in Europe.

At that time, we stood in firm internationalist solidarity at the side of our Czechoslovak comrades and friends, who courageously and steadfastly defended their socialist fatherland. And at our eighth party congress, we supported the stance comprehensively set out by our fraternal party in 1970 in "Lessons From the Critical Developments in the Party and Society in the Wake of the 13th CPCZ Congress." The CPCZ view at that time and the conclusions it drew, in our opinion, still are relevant today. They disprove all attempts at subsequent "reassessment" of the international assistance given the CSSR because they are detached from the concrete circumstances of the universal class struggle in 1968. Unhistorical approaches of this type must be rejected just as firmly as all attempts by hardliners to destablize the position in the CSSR once again. The CPCZ position, therefore, has our total internationalist support.

The most important thing is that the CPCZ has acted in accordance with the lessons learned; that having overcome the crisis and its results the CSSR has developed into a stable, modern socialist state; that the people in our fraternal socialist country to the south can enjoy the fruits of the hard joint labor in peace; that the CSSR currently is making an internationally respected contribution to peace, disarmament, and cooperation on our continent; and that last, but not least, our two peoples are, as was recently emphasized at the meeting between Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes in Prague, working together in firm friendship for the good of the people, for a strong socialism, and for a secure peace.

At this meeting, it once again became clear that the GDR and the CSSR are solving jointly the tasks in politics, the economy, ideology, culture, and all other areas with a

clear socialist perspective. The million fold solidarity between the people of the two fraternal socialist countries proves itself in life.

Klein Protests to W. Berlin on Border Attacks

LD1808131689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1236 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deputy representative of the GDR Government, Lothar Klein, and the representative of the Senat of Berlin (West), Gerhard Kunze, met today for a talk.

Questions concerning the further implementation of the agreements resulting from the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the governing mayor of Berlin (West), Walter Momper, on 19 June 1989 were discussed.

During the talk, a protest was made to the Senat representative about the provocations and attacks on GDR border installations carried out recently from Berlin (West). Effective measures to prevent such actions were demanded of the Senat.

Protest to FRG Chancellor

LD1808152189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1448 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A serious provocation was committed against the GDR state border on Thursday night/Friday morning in the Wahlhausen section in Heiligenstadt District (Kreis) (Erfurt area/Bezirk).

Two men, shooting from FRG territory, aimed at border installations, residential buildings, and the church of the village of Wahlhausen, which lies directly on the state border.

The assailants fired about 50 shots from a weapon, seriously endangering the life and health of the inhabitants of the village and of members of the GDR border forces. They caused damage to buildings and installations. The investigating authorities removed projectiles from walls and rooms in occupied buildings fired from the culprits' weapon.

The GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG has lodged a very strong protest against this serious provocatory attack with the FRG Federal Chancellor's Office and has made stringent demands that the Federal Government should immediately undertake measures to prevent such criminal attacks. The expectation was expressed that those responsible for the attack will be called to account for their crime.

West Berlin Mayor Advocates Cooperation

AU1708151889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Aug 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Walter Momper: Berlin (West) Has To Actively Advance Detente; Closer Cooperation With GDR"]

[Text] Cologne (ADN)—In the opinion of Governing Mayor Walter Momper, Berlin (West) is especially important for the success of a new stage in the disarmament policy in Europe. In and around Berlin (West), the will and the capability to cooperate politically beyond borders can be tested in a very practical way, he stated in an article for INDUSTRIE-UND HANDELSREVUE, published in Cologne. In Momper's opinion, a priority task of the politicians has to be to advance the process of the second stage of the disarmament policy.

Momper mentioned the desired close cooperation between Berlin (West) and the GDR in the field of environmental protection, which includes joint planning and the transfer of specialists. "Another field of cooperation in which the intensification of relations is urgently required is trade," the governing mayor of Berlin (West) wrote. It is imperative to open up new medium- and long-term perspectives in East-West trade. Berlin (West) has especially great opportunities in this field, he stated. The city's geographical situation, its proximity to the East European countries, and the fact that the GDR is its direct neighbor are an advantage of its location that has to be used. The Berlin (West) Senat will stress this advantage "in the political dialoge more than before and will increasingly press for it to be used in dealings with the EC and CEMA countries."

Evangelical Church Official Interviewed on Reform

AU1708144089 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1900 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Interview with Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, by ZDF reporter Schmitz—recorded; date and place not given]

[Text] [Schmitz] Mr Stolpe, the Evangelical Church has repeatedly appealed to the people here not to leave the country, yet it seems with little success.

[Stolpe] Mr Schmitz, let me reassure you and the viewers in the FRG that the entire GDR is not converging on you, and that the great majority of vacationers in Hungary are firmly determined to return to their home country. Thus, we should not dramatize this issue, and maybe one should begin to attach less importance to this topic. Still, what is currently going on is an indicator that there is a problem, and it is showing us, the church, that there are very serious questions that have to be tackled. As in the past, the only thing we can do is to make it clear to the people that when making decisions they must not forget that their well being is not only dependent on

prosperity. This is a very important question that certainly matters a lot to many people at the moment. We must appeal to them: Please be aware that you are part of a community, and think of what you might abandon by rushed decisions. Please, you all must help ensure that legal certainty comes into being in this country—this is particularly important at this moment. There are quiet changes here—I think that you at ZDF have not yet noticed them either—there are quiet changes affecting the most important question of coexistence, and this requires the help of all.

[Schmitz] Still, one gets the impression that state and party here do not want to hear much about reform, and that therefore people are leaving the country, that they are disappointed, and that they have lost confidence.

[Stolpe] The question of how things will go on in the GDR, and of how the relationship between the GDR and its citizens and the FRG will develop, is not a question the GDR can decide by itself. I want to warn against the illusion that hasty changes, that is to say trying to emulate Poland or Hungary, would solve all problems at once.

[Schmitz] Still, what do you expect from the GDR?

[Stolpe] I think that both governments are giving this topic much thought. The GDR is trying to find out how it can say more rapidly, convincingly, and credibly how to shape the future in this country. As a community of all citizens of the GDR we should draw up a 10-year plan of how things will continue in a positive way for all of us.

[Schmitz] Nevertheless, many citizens have the feeling that everything is very rigid.

[Stolpe] There is such feeling, and I am convinced that we will have to resolutely fight against this feeling.

[Schmitz] Can you imagine that, considering this very difficult situation in terms of the economy, special help from Bonn is required in the interest of the people here?

[Stolpe] I am convinced that the FRG Government will also have to consider how to change its policy toward the GDR, a policy that emerged in your country during an era of confrontation, an era of protection against political persecution and the admission of these persecuted people...

[Schmitz] ... An era, however, that was replaced by a policy of detente...

[Stolpe] ... Which was replaced by a policy of detente, but this former policy continues to be widely noticeable in practice. It is about time to think about how Germany can be shaped in the form of two German states in a way that the currently wide gap between the living conditions in the two states can be narrowed, a gap that is worrying many people. There are questions which one has to tackle in a very specific and project-related way, including economic subsidies, services, infrastructure, communications and postal service, and others that are important to the people, including supply problems.

[Schmitz] However, economic support would only be effective if the money did not flow into an economic system that is utterly inefficient. Thus, it is necessary to carry out reforms.

[Stolpe] I think that one question is shaping the economic structure of this country, and a great deal more has to be done in this respect to ensure efficiency and the observance of the performance principle. However, on the other hand, the FRG Government could provide specific and project-related support so that the gap in the living conditions of the people could be narrowed, conditions—and this is a reality that we have to take seriously in the church as well—that are regarded as a great burden by many people here, and conditions on the other side that appear very enticing.

[Schmitz] A sort of Marshall Plan for the GDR?

[Stolpe] Certainly not Marshall, but a plan that has to be drawn up by the governments of both German states, a plan for regulating and shaping their relationship in the future, in the interest of the people, in the interest of both German states and peace in Europe, in a phase where new thinking and cooperation will play a more important role than in the past.

[Schmitz] Has the time now come for political opposition in the GDR?

[Stolpe] In the GDR the time for an open and honest exchange of conflicting opinions is overdue. It has existed in many spheres, but it has partly been covered up and carried out without publicity. I am convinced that the existing structures must first be thoroughly examined to see whether they do not permit this exchange of conflicting opinions. This has to be seriously tackled. I believe that we do not need any new structures for the time being.

Priest Interviewed on Resolution With FDP

AU1808145789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Telephone interview with Pastor Rainer Eppelmann in East Berlin, by Hans-Joachim Wiese—live]

[Text] [Wiese] GDR civil rights activists and politicians from the FDP [Free Democratic Party] of Lower Saxony for the first time have adopted a joint declaration, in which they call for an independent and joint German identity. According to the resolution, political responsibility is not only becoming involved in one's own affairs, but it also requires making somebody else's cause one's own if injustice has been done. The signatories on the GDR side include East Berlin Pastor Rainer Eppelmann,

his colleague Hans-Peter Schneider, and the painter Baerbel (Bolai). On the part of the FDP group of Lower Saxony, the document was signed by Lower Saxonia Ministers Walter Hirche and Heinrich Juergens, as well as by the latter's State Secretary Rudolf Fischer, and Martin Hildebrandt, chairman of the FDP group.

I am now speaking with Pastor Rainer Eppelmann in East Berlin. Good afternoon, Mr Eppelmann. How was this somewhat astonishing resolution brought about?

[Eppelmann] Good afternoon. Well, there have been lose contacts for several months, for just over 2 years, to be more precise, between individual members of the FDP group in the Lower Saxonian diet and us. This developed into something like a friendship, and the interest to do something together emerged. Thus, we were looking for what we thought was a good reason, and thought that 1 September would offer us the opportunity to look at our history, to recall and contemplate it, and—what is important to us—to try to say something together for today and the future as people that live in different states.

[Wiese] I have already quoted a few passages from your resolution. You call for an independent and joint German identity. Can you explain what that means?

[Eppelmann] We wanted to take a serious look at the fact that the history of the Germans has taken quite a different course over the past 40 years, but that we share the same history, language, and culture, which, fortunately, cannot be extinguished and eliminated, something that we do not want to do either. We want to take the differences between the two countries and their developments seriously, but at the same time we want to maintain and emphasize the things that we share.

[Wiese] You also demand that somebody else's cause has to be made one's own if an injustice is done. What do you mean by that?

[Eppelmann] Generally, as the paper notes, both groups first have resolved to pay more attention than in the past to wherever injustice is being done and to intervene—everywhere in the world, but also in their own countries. The argument that this might mean interfering in the domestic affairs of another country or another state will not be accepted by us. We thought that whenever human and basic rights are concerned, the formula of noninterference in the affairs of another country does not apply.

[Wiese] Was the currently great number of GDR would-be emigrants at the back of your mind when you drew up this resolution?

[Eppelmann] When we drew up this paper we did not yet have such a clear picture of this situation. However, to interfere in a certain situation also means to try hard in many fields to reduce the contradiction between supply and demand in the GDR. This not only implies daily needs, electronics, or automobiles, but also basic civil rights, such as the freedom of speech, freedom of assembly or association, and the possibilities for travel and emigration. As far as all of this is concerned, there is certainly a much greater need for these things than what is actually possible in the GDR.

[Wiese] What is the common ground that unites you with the FDP? Why did you adopt this declaration with the FDP in particular?

[Eppelmann] We have also conducted talks for several months with different groups from other parties of the FRG Government, which was even reported by some of your media. Now we have for the first time drawn up a joint text. One of the reasons for it was that we got along very well on a personal level, and in this process of getting to know one another and holding discussions we suddenly realized that we have the same opinion as far as many basic attitudes and convictions are concerned. This has strengthened the idea to develop this project further.

[Wiese] Will there be further developments in this direction?

[Eppelmann] I do not want to make any prophecies, but on the basis of our good experience I would say that this was not the last thing that we have done together.

Group Demands Release of S. Korean Student

LD1708142389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0924 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Solidarity Committee of the GDR and the GDR Committee for Human Rights were outraged to receive the news of the arrest of the courageous South Korean student Im Su-kyong on her return from the 13th World Youth and Student Games in the DPRK by the South Korean authorities. "Action of this kind is not an appropriate means of promoting international detente through confidence-building measures. It runs counter to a dialogue, supported by the Korean people, between the DPRK and South Korea, which is intended to solve the existing problems on the Korean peninsula," it was stated in a joint statement of the two committees.

"We demand the immediate release of Im Su-kyong and her South Korean companion. Both of them have fought for peace, friendship between nations, and human rights. Their release would be a humanitarian action and a gesture of good will in the interest of peace and detente."

Health Minister Receives Romanian Official

AU1808150089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Romanian Politician Meets Health Minister"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Health Minister Prof Dr Klaus Thielmann received Dr Dan Georgescu, state secretary in the Health Ministry of the Socialist Republic

of Romania, for a friendly exchange of opinions in Berlin on Tuesday [15 August]. The partners in the talk briefed each other on the results and tasks of the health and social policy and positively assessed the cooperation between the two countries in the health sector.

Honecker Greets Congo's Sassou-Nguesso

AU1708153489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Aug 89 p 2

[ND report: "Greetings to the People's Republic of the Congo on Revolution Anniversary; Telegrams to Leading Representatives of the Country"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following congratulatory telegram to Army General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party [PCT] and head of government of the People's Republic of the Congo:

The 26th anniversary of the Congolese Revolution is a welcome occasion for me to convey cordial congratulations to you.

The GDR follows with respect the Congolese people's efforts to implement the decisions of the Fourth Regular PCT Congress to establish a progressive society.

The PCT's commitment to peace in the world, as well as to security, cooperation, and development on the African Continent is highly appreciated in the GDR.

I am convinced that the traditional friendly relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of the Congo will further strengthen and develop.

Please accept my best wishes for your health and well being.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed a congratulatory telegram to Alphonse Poaty-Souchlaty, prime minister of the People's Republic of the Congo.

Kessler Receives Guinea Army Delegation

AU1708144389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Army Delegation From Guinea Received"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On behalf of Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and minister of national defense, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, received a delegation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Guinea on Saturday [12 August]. The delegation is headed by Lieutenant General Finando Thiani, chief of staff.

During the meeting in the Defense Ministry, the partners in the talk paid tribute to the many years of friendly relations between the two states. They expressed the conviction that the visit will deepen the friendship and cooperation with the Armed Forces of the Republic of Guinea.

In the course of the meeting, Col Gen Fritz Streletz briefed the guests on the soldiers' achievements and initiatives to implement the class mandate of the 11th SED Congress. In the 40th year of the Republic's existence, the efforts of the people's soldiers are aimed at strengthening the socialist German state and securing peace in the heart of Europe. Therefore, the required level of the National People's Army defense capability is always guaranteed.

Tolo Beavogui, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Guinea ambassador to the GDR, participated in the talk.

Party Leaders at Horticultural Show Opening

LD1808141689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1234 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—The GDR horticultural show IGA-89, attended by CEMA member-countries, opened in Erfurt this afternoon. Around 300 cooperatives, publicly owned farms, scientific institutions, processing enterprises, and the retail trade are exhibiting their products in the halls and pavillions, greenhouses, and outdoors in the 104-hectare grounds. Invited by GDR Agriculture Minister Bruno Lietz, the opening walkabout was attended by the members and candidate members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Werner Jarowinsky and Werner Krolikowski, Central Committee secretaries; Inge Lange; Gerhard Mueller, first secretary of the Erfurt SED Bezirk executive; Margarete Mueller, head of the Friedland Agrarian-Industrial Association; and other guests.

In the next 4 weeks, horticulturalists from the CSSR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, and Vietnam will be giving an insight into the fruit, vegetable, and ornamental plant cultivation of their countries.

No Joint Soviet Military Exercise in October

LD1708161189 Budapest MTI in English 1426 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 17 (MTI)—An announcement was made recently that designated troops of the Soviet Southern Army group and the Hungarian People's Army will participate in a joint military exercise to be held on the area of Hungary this October. The Ministry of Defence has now announced that the joint exercise was taken off the training plans, when they were coordinated. No joint military exercise will be held in Hungary this October, the communique stresses.

Former Minister on 1968 CSSR Intervention

LD1708142489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The current leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] does not identify itself with the 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Lajos Czinege, the one time defense minister, was the additional member of the Politburo in 1968. This is him speaking.

[Begin recording] [Czinege] It was difficult for the Hungarian party leadership and for Janos Kadar to offer resistance.

[Correspondent] Does this mean, first of all, the Soviet Union?

[Czinege] Well, yes.

[Correspondent] Were there realistic alternatives, that is to invade or not?

[Czinege] Well, by then, there were hardly any. Our reform of 1968 was not really ready to hatch yet. Really. The Hungarian economic reform depended a great deal on what kind of position we achieved within CEMA, and first of all in relation to the Soviet Union, regarding raw material, energy recources, and so on.

[Correspondent] Am I to understand that the Hungarian political leadership and the Hungarian economy were threatened by political sanctions which meant that if the Hungarian Army were not to invade Czechoslovakia, then the oil tap could have been turned off in the Soviet Union?

[Czinege] This was also included in the debate and the anguish. [end recording]

SZOT Issues Strike Call; Government Reacts

Railroad Workers Strike

LD1708165589 Budapest MTI in English 1518 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 17 (MTI)—The strike committee of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) on Thursday issued a strike call in the national press service. It calls on all workers and trade union officials to join the warning strike announced by railway workers for August 18.

The strike does not aim at causing economic damage, but to prevent the price rises planned for certain meat preparations on August 21 and September 4. The cooperation of the workers would give emphasis and demonstrate their strength. The strike is a signal to support the demand, and is also a protest against a governmental policy which continuously reduces the living standard with improvized measures rather than find genuine solutions to the problems.

The appeal proposes that the strike last for one hour at most, that it disturb the peace of the population as little as possible, that it should not affect basic services, and that it be accompanied by the least possible financial loss.

Strike Over Price Increases

LD1708154689 Budapest MTI in English 1340 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 17 (MTI)—The trade unions are holding out the prospect of a national warning strike to protest against a possible meat price hike.

The fact that the authorities concerned wish to eliminate the shortages in meat supply (which they termed temporary and occasional) by raising prices, has elicited general protest among the population.

A meeting on Wednesday between the sectoral trade unions and the leaders of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) said the general anger was justified, and noted that price rises of this kind are not in keeping with the agreements made between the council of ministers and SZOT. Therefore, the SZOT leadership has initiated immediate consultations about the issue with the sides concerned.

SZOT Spokesman on Reasons

LD1808112289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Correspondent Peter Laszlo report from the National Trade Union Council]

[Text] Representatives of the government and the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] will sit down at the negotiating table this afternoon. The SZOT would

like the 6.5-percent increase in the price of meat products, planned to take place beginning Monday, to be withdrawn. The Council of Ministers has charged representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the National Prices Office, with conducting discussions with the SZOT delegation. This is what the SZOT Secretary, Mrs. Kosa, nee Magdolna Kovacs, gave information about.

Two million people are expected to take part in the warning strike announced for today. That is the preliminary estimate in the SZOT. The most people are probably stopping work in the morning hours is presumably for 30 minutes. SZOT hopes that, in accordance with the appeal here, workers in basic services will not take part in the action. This would give rise to antipathy.

The current warning strike is taking place according to the stipulations of the strike law, it is emphasized in the SZOT, adding that it is only one stage of the process since this has been the last straw. If there is no success in achieving the withdrawal of the meat product price increase, the release of a national strike appeal is not precluded. This, as opposed to the current action, would cause economic damage. The trade unions do not want this. They are believers in negotiated agreement, at least this is what they state.

At the same time, they are aware that the government itself cannot withdraw the price increase plan since meat products are in the free-price sphere, that is, the enterprises themselves can decide on making them more expensive.

Of course, the Council of Ministers could help by changing its attitude, it is said at the SZOT. The current situation in the meat industry is precisely the consequence of the government's mistakes, they say. To explain this, they mention the devaluation of the forint twice, and the current method of export-subsidies, as well as how the current system of interestedness encourages enterprises to raise consumer prices.

To my question, the SZOT secretary disputed the government spokesman's statement that the current price increase for meat products was in the plan. The SZOT was not informed about the price increase at its discussions held with government. Otherwise Mrs Kosa, nee Magdolna Kovacs, did not comment in substance on my remark that the workers were divided regarding the strike, since they were of the view that there was no sense in protesting if the enterprises can freely decide on price increases.

By the way, the SZOT does not know of economic managers anywhere having prevented the warning strike, so far.

Government-SZOT Meeting Held

LD1808122989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Excerpt] The government-National Trade Union Council [SZOT] meeting, at which the situation that has developed as a consequence of the nationwide strikes is being discussed, has begun in Budapest. The trade union would like the government to facilitate an immediate suspension of the planned price increases by temporarily covering the loss of the meat industry enterprises. At the discussions, the government is represented by State Secretary Ferenc Szabo, as well as by Ferenc Vissi, chairman of the National Prices Office, while taking part on behalf of SZOT are secretaries Mrs Kosa, Nee Magdolna Kovacs, and Pal Csikos, as well as the SZOT spokesman and the head of the strike committee. According to the trade unions, about 2 million workers are taking part in the warning strikes over the planned rise in the price of meat preparations, today in our country. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Meat Price Increases

LD1808123489 Budapest MTI in English 1002 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 18, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The six per cent rise in Hungarian meat prices, to be introduced by the processing companues on August 21, the day after the St Stephen Day's festivities, will only add 0.1 of a percentage point to the annual consumer price index, the government spokesman told journalists on Thursday.

Meat will cost 360 million forints (US $6 million) per year more to consumers assuming that buying patterns remain the same, he said.

Trade unions are organizing half hour warning strikes today against the meat price rises, but the spokesman emphasized that the government had no influence over the processing companies. He added however, that the government has already taken the rise into account when estimating this year's consumer price index.

In December last year the government said it expected a 12 to 15 per cent rise in the price index for the whole of 1989. However, the annual rase of inflation had already reached 15 per cent by the end of June.

Economic Chamber on Strike Appeal

LD1808125189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] So far, the trade unions representing the workers have stated their stand. Now let us hear from the other side. Istvan Szello telephoned Peter Lorincze, general secretary of the Economic Chamber.

[Begin recording] [Lorincze] Our member enterprises have come to us in very great numbers, urging that the chamber's board issue an official standpoint on this.

[Szello] So you are defending the enterprises' interests?

[Lorincze] That is precisely why we oppose the strike appeal and the strike itself.

[Szello] You were totally unprepared for this, it appears.

[Lorincze] I believed that the appeal hit everyone unprepared. In the future, we must prepare ourselves because if a group of employees uses the simple increase in product's price in the free-price sphere for the purpose of a strike appeal, and if this suddenly spreads into a nationwide action; such precedents can lead only to the economy falling into disorganization, to the market's functioning becoming chaotic. All this strengthens the voice of all the antireform forces, who say that the solution is the restoration of official prices in the entire meat sector and the continuous increase of state price supports. [end recording]

Horn, FRG's Sudhoff Discuss GDR Refugees

LD1708172189 Budapest MTI in English
1634 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 17 (MTI)—Juergen Sudhoff, state secretary for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, has paid a further visit to Budapest to hold discussions with Gyula Horn, Hungrian minister of foreign affairs, on the issue of the refugees from the German Democratic Republic, occupying the Budapest embassy of the FRG. During the discussions, it was reiterated by Mr Horn that the issue of the resettling of the East German citizens is the internal affair of the two German states. Nevertheless, Hungary is making every effort to promote an early settlement of the issue.

Budapest PPF Says To Demolish Berlin Wall

LD1808084589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The Budapest Committee of the Patriotic People's Front [PPF] has accepted a stance after a heated debate. Zsolt Bocskai reports:

[Bocskai] We consider the demolition of the Berlin Wall to be necessary because in any socialist country in which there is this or that kind of iron curtain, there is still oppression, even if its leaders call the system concerned the most progressive people's democracy. I heard this from (Istvan Nagy Kristo), who submitted the draft program. He continued what he had to say with a question: Why should people from neighboring countries—the GDR, for example—who desire freedom, not be able to come here? Many people debated his statement according to which the PPF should take a stance on these international questions as soon as possible, saying the movement should not get involved in this, for it could only worsen relations with unconsidered statements. First, order should be created at home. I heard this more than once.

Since the material also touches on a great many internal political questions, the debate did not end with this. A few topics were: The PPF should initiate the replacement or recall of those leaders who have lost their creditability. They will start off, probably, with Budapest Council members. The movement should not be left behind; it should start now to look for candidates for the post of president of the Republic. A name also was voiced: Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar.

The draft program proposes that until a final decision is reached, the police should employ the workers' guards. However, the legal regulations concerning keeping weapons should be re-examined, for in the present situation there lies the hidden danger not only of terrorism, but also of a roll-back [visszarendezodes].

Both in the report and in the debate, the matter of the PPF papers was discussed. It is possible that the name of the movement will be taken off some papers. At the same time, they are considering launching an independent Budapest paper. It also was said that contrary to earlier reports, they will not sell MAGYAR NEMZET to Canadian entrepreneurs, after all.

Government News Conference Considers Religion

LD1708212789 Budapest MTI in English
1900 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, August 17 [MTI]—An assessment of the trilateral political conciliatory discussions was given by Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, at the Thursday [17 August] session of the government. After the report, it was pointed out by the Council of Ministers, that the government is aware of the importance of the ongoing discussions, and that it would have an adverse effect on the country if the coordinating discussions were to be broken off, or were to be unjustifiably prolonged. At the same time, the government holds it equally important to prevent delay in the preparation of basic laws, and that relevant bills should be presented to Paliament as early as possible.

The amendment of the laws on emigration and immigration also featured on the agenda of discussions. It was pointed out that the new law should set down that Hungarian citizens should have the basic right as citizens to choose their place of abode, when and where they wish to travel to. Thus prevailing numerous legal sanctions, on forbidden crossing of the border and border violation will be superseded. The right of returning to the homeland cannot be restricted and will be set down in the related bill, shortly to be presented to parliament.

Another law presently under elaboration relates to the freedom of conscience and religion. Church leaders have requested the government to allow the operation of religious orders in Hungary. The draft bill was adopted at today's session, permitting the operation of religious orders after an interval of almost four decades. Mr Bajnok [acting government spokesman] reported that with the exception of the Benedictine, Piairsts, Franciscans and the Szeged Order of Teaching Sisters, every order was abolished in Hungary at the beginning of the 1950s. In 1986, the permission to operate charity religious orders, without repealing previous regulation, led to the creation of the Order of Our Lady of Hungary.

A decision was also reached by the government on the fate of the military barracks, vacated by Soviet troops. The flats will be sold, and there will be biddings held for the sale of buildings. The government does not take the responsibility of the renovation of the buildings, Mr Bajnok continued.

Responding to a question, Mr Bajnok stated that the assessment of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia did not come up for discussions at the session. A reason for this is that the standpoint published on August 16 by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Political Executive Committee reflected the opinion of the government.

In conclusion, the question was put to the spokesman whether the government had any reaction to the strike call by the trade unions. The government is ready for consultations with the trade unions, although they are protesting against price hikes which were included in this year's published plans, which concern freely priced products, that cannot be influenced by the government.

PZPR Central Committee Plenum Set for 19 Aug

LD1708112389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1046 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo has decided to convene the 14th plenum of the Central Committee on Saturday 19 August. The discussions will start at 1100 [0900 GMT].

OKP Senator Comments on Future Government

LD1708132389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1046 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] After the Sejm deliberations ended yesterday, the parliamentary floor groups held meetings. The concepts discussed by the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] are talked about by Senator Aleksander Paszynski in an interview granted to Stanislawa Stec.

[Begin recording] [Stec] At the OKP meetings held just after the Sejm sitting, and again in the evening, you spoke—it seemed that political matters would come first—primarily about the economy. That is to say, you presented what are in your view the most important conditions to be met so that what is happening now can be halted, and afterward, the chaos (?reversed).

[Paszynksi] I think I simply spoke about the economy because today the economy is becoming a totally political matter. In the first place, then, I think that in the situation we are in, we must set up, bring about, the creation of a government which I call a government of experts. This isn't a precise definition; it should be, simply, an extra-party government, formed by people who know more or less what should be done in individual areas. Such a government should decisively tackle only the economy. It should present a short-term, 3 or 4 month program, which I call a braking or rescue program. That means, I'm thinking here first and foremost of halting the whole process of industrial investment, of cutbacks in arms spending, and of obtaining a moratorium for Poland's debts, of taking action on selling the assets that can be sold—I'm thinking of houses, rented garden plots, apartments, shops, small workshops, and so on—and I would like, at the same time, for parliament to regard its tasks as what I call a constituent assembly. That means for it to work out in a very quick process the bases for what we call a new social-economic-political order, and for the government to know after those 3 or 4 months what the general directions changes in the economic system are, and, on that basis, to be able to present the next program—a 2-year program for getting out of the crisis while taking into account these solutions.

[Stec] How do you visualize—in this government (?of experts) tackling specific issues in a very businesslike way—a place for Lech Walesa, of whom one can say everything apart from saying that he knows about the economy?

[Paszynski] [Words indistinct] the current negotiations will end and I'm convinced that the solution which our floor group is discussing at the moment is the only solution. Let's see what happens. I think, however, that things will take the direction of this kind of government of experts, and an extra-party one, for it is considerably easier to find a concensus in such a set-up. The question is, who will head such a government. (?Maybe), with an excellent line-up of people, the premier should indeed be a politician of great imagination, with great authority.

The greatest doubt which can be aroused by what we are talking about is the issue of society's patience. Society must have the minimum belief, at least—I don't think one can talk about full confidence—that perhaps, I stress perhaps, we will find ourselves, or we have found ourselves on the road leading to the target. Many people think that only Lech Walesa is still a relatively reliable guarantee that we have entered this road. [end recording]

Walesa, Malinowski, Jozwiak Discuss Government

LD1708115989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1046 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] This morning Lech Walesa spoke to Roman Malinowski, the chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and afterward with Jerzy Jozwiak, the chairman of the Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee. The subject of the discussion was Lech Walesa's proposal to form a government composed of Solidarity, ZSL, and the SD. Following his meeting with Jerzy Jozwiak, Lech Walesa said: At the moment, we can talk about a coalition of reforms and not so much and sharply about our coalition yet.

Asked when it would be possible to know the name of the new premier, the Solidarity leader replied: We are entering into a period of democracy but also of a respect for the laws which we create together, and we must respect them. We respect the will of the president. Naturally we are supplying him with arguments so he'll have something to choose from. Jerzy Jozwiak stated, however: I think that those talks, which took place in a good atmosphere, enabled the creation of a platform for cooperation on the matter of Lech Walesa's proposal.

Coalition Government Proposal for Jaruzelski

LD1708124589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] As we have already reported, this morning, at the headquarters of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee, there was a meeting between Roman Malinowski and Lech Walesa and next, at the headquarters of the Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee, a meeting between Jerzy Jozwiak and Lech Walesa. Later, at the Myslewicki Palace in the Royal Lazienki park, there was a tripartite meeting. The communique issued after these talks states:

There was discussion of the sociopolitical, and particularly, the economic and market situation. Profound disquiet was expressed about the growing danger of economic collapse and the negative social mood which is arising. The new quality of the socioeconomic situation creates an urgent need to draw up a rescue program for the economy and stabilization of the life of the population.

In the spirit of responsibility for leading Poland out of the economic crisis, a readiness has been expressed to form a Coalition Government of National Responsibility, in accordance with Lech Walesa's proposal. This government would be open to all pro-reform political forces sitting in parliament. At the same time it would be a consistent spokesman for the implementation of the decisions and the philosophy of the roundtable. It was decided to jointly present this stance to the president of the Polish People's Republic during a meeting at the Belweder Palace at 1500 [1300 GMT].

Rakowski Talks to Enterprise Secretaries

'Political Coup' in Works

LD1708124889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The political and economic situation of Poland as well as tasks arising therefrom for the party are the subject of a meeting between Mieczyslaw Rakowski and the first secretaries of party organizations from 208 industrial enterprises, in which the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee has a direct interest.

Referring to the government crisis, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said that following the statement by Lech Walesa and after the talks among the opposition, the Democratic Party [SD], and the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the PZPR, SD, and ZSL coalition 'de facto' ceased to exist. The conclusion suggests itself, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said, that the desire to create a government without the PZPR is aimed at the total takeover of power in Poland, leading up to a political coup and change in the system of government which is not in accord with the roundtable agreements.

Opposition 'Hinders' Reform

LD1808003589 Warsaw PAP in English 2352 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski met here today with secretaries of 208 PUWP factory organizations from all over Poland to discuss the political and socio-economic situation and ensuring tasks for party organizations.

Work establishments constitute the fundamental base of the party and the party cannot give up this base—this was one of the basic theses of discussion.

The party must adjust its structures and apparatus to new tasks and new socio-political situation. One should come to terms with the opposition wherever possible, but there are situations where no concessions are admissible, it was stressed at the meeting.

The party is facing tasks for today and tomorrow. A campaign preceding the party's 11th congress may become a chance of its survival and consolidation of its not-too-good conditions, the discussants said.

The party members must become a kind of a constructive opposition against everything that hits out at the interest of working people and hinders the realization of the party's reform-orientated line. One of the most important tasks at present is to preserve the party's unity and to take up a normal political struggle aimed to defend the Polish model of socialism from all threats carried by quick changes in this country's socio-political life.

Referring to a voice in the discussion Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski informed participants in the meeting towards its end about the course of political developments which had taken part on Thursday in connection with the formation of a new government.

PUWP CC first secretary referred to the critical, but also genuine nature of the discussion, and said that this atmosphere of genuinness is what the party needs now. It will consolidate in the policy of the party's new leadership. He stressed that the PUWP must now become a party of political strife and learn to fight, a thing it has not been accustomed to by now.

PUWP CC first secretary devoted much attention to voices suggesting possibly quick summoning of a PUWP congress. I think it is impossible, he said, to hold the congress before end of this year. It has to be well prepared and the entire party should take part in this process. As the leadership, we shall exert moral pressure on every party organisation in Poland to speak out its outlook on the future of the party, its activities, and name. The congress is an urgent task but let us not believe in its magical power. The party has still considerable power of political and social influence and the way of using it is determined by the members, people, and their activity.

Resolution on Socio-Economic Situation

In the adopted resolution participants in the meeting with PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski voiced deep concern over the development of the present situation in Poland.

With the decisions of the 10th CC Plenary meeting our party, the resolution reads, has opened way to enhanced construction of national agreement. According to the

desire of the majority, the PUWP and its ally parties and associations of Catholics and lay Christians sat by the round table together with representatives of the opposition.

Agreement was reached on the joint creation of conditions for establishing a parliamentary democracy, building a citizens society, and stepping up the reforms in Polish economy.

On this plan elections to the Sejm and Senate were held last June. The results were the reason for our party to come out with the initiative of a grand government coalition able to successfully overcome the present difficulties in the daily work and life of the Poles.

We are sorry to see that the political opposition not only discarded that proposal but went as far as trying to break the round table decisions and take over the government. This conduct raises indignation of party members and its sympathizers. We are against confrontative moves by opposition leaders and groups supporting them.

We believe that the formation of a grand coalition government—that will prevent further deterioration of labour and living conditions of the Polish people, halt the wave of strikes and social unrest, stabilise the situation in Poland, disperse fears of the allies and foreign partners and will be a continuator of the reforms and changes initiated by the PUWP—continues to be the most important thing for Poland today.

In this intention we appeal to all parliamentary clubs to create conditions for an urgent formation of such a government. In the present socio-political situation in Poland we believe it necessary that all party members and organisations display their outlooks on the question of national existence which are now being decided.

Second Day of Sejm Session Opens 17 Aug

LD1708114189 Warsaw PAP in English
1050 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—The Sejm (lower house of the Polish parliament) resumed debates at 11.00 hrs on Thursday.

The Sejm supplemented the agenda with a new point, that is the first reading of the government draft law on some elements of budget management in August and September, 1989, and on amendments to the budget law for this year, this being related to Wednesday's Sejm decision to send back the draft amendments to the budget law to the government to work them out anew.

Next the agenda included the first reading of government draft law amending the law on the rural social fund. In this connection vice-premier, Minister of Agriculture Kazimierz Olesiak took the floor.

PAP Rounds Up Debate

LD1708230289 Warsaw PAP in English
1450 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—On Thursday [17 August] the Sejm resumed its meeting shortly after 11 a.m.

Opening the debates, vice speaker of the Sejm Olga Krzyzanowska announced that in connection with Wednesday's [16 August] decision of the Sejm on returning to the government for re-examination of the draft law on amendments to the budget for 1989 and the resolution of changing the credit plan for this year, the government tabled a draft law on some conditions of managing the state budget in August and September 1989 and on amending the budget law for 1989. The chamber accepted the proposal of entering this point into the agenda.

The first reading of the government draft amendments to the law on the social fund for the countryside followed next. Vice Premier, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy Kazimierz Olesiak addressed the Sejm on this matter.

Vice Premier Olesiak stated that the key matter was to adjust the regulations of the law on using the means of the central fund to the current socio-political reality. This is because an independent self-governing trade union of private farmers of "Solidarity" had surfaced and there is a need to legally secure for this trade union, as well as other trade unions and organizations operating in the countryside, appropriate share in this fund. With a view to this, the draft proposes the creation of a national council of the social fund of the countryside. It will be the only body empowered to dispose of the means of the central fund.

The council will comprise 10 representatives of "Solidarity" of private farmers, the National Union of Farmers and farming circles and organizations each and one representative from all socio-professional branch organizations of private farmers, provided they have a nationwide scope.

Taking the floor in the plenary discussion, Deputy Teresa Malczewska (United Peasant Party) [UPP] announced that the amendments proposed by the government were accepted by the UPP parliamentary floor group which favours the formation of a national council of the social fund of the countryside and an increase of write-offs for the central fund from 15 to 20 percent.

Deputy Roman Norbert, speaking in the name of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group, also expressed support for the government initiative.

Maria Stepniak of the OKP Citizen's Floor Group said that the draft amendments to the law on the social fund of the countryside was an example of an earlier adoption

of this document owing to political reasons. She underscored the importance of the civil activity of farmers affiliated to rural "Solidarity." In the name of the OKP she motioned for an amendment of the existing law.

Vice Premier Kazimierz Olesiak referred to the opinions and doubts voiced by the deputies during the discussion on the proposed amendments to the law on the social fund for the countryside. He stressed that in the present conditions and situation, the most important matter was to have the social fund start operating.

The vice premier declared the readiness of the Ministry of Agriculture to participate in the work on an expeditious elaboration of the right solutions.

Replying, Deputy Jacek Szymanderski (OKP) suggested to resign from the creation of a separate social fund for the countryside and to solve this matter by budget means financing. Other deputies motioned to entrust greater powers to local self-government in using such funds.

Next Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski presented the government draft law on certain conditions of the budget economy of the state in August and September this year and on amendments to the budget law for 1989. The minister recalled that in tune with the decision made by the Sejm on Wednesday, a necessity arose to present draft solutions securing the financing of the budget sphere till the introduction of comprehensive changes to the budget law for this year. Wroblewski pointed to a number of key questions connected with this draft.

Taking the floor in an ensuing discussion, Deputy Janusz Szymborski (PUWP) took exception to a provision which says that expenditures from the state budget should allow for sums specified in the draft amendments to the budget law for 1989. The sum of 649.5 billion zloties envisaged by this draft for health service barely covers the hitherto expenditure, the deputy said. He added that the government draft could only be accepted if outlays for health service were raised by some 700 billion zloties.

This opinion was shared by Deputy Marian Kowal (OKP) who said that the financial limits envisaged by the draft should be largely extended. He said the cuts in those limits as compared with the initial assumptions of the budget plan were inadmissible.

Deputy Elzbieta Seferowicz (OKP) presented a statement by the Sejm Committee for Health, adopted at a meeting on August 17 which pointed out that pays of the budgetary sphere employees still fail to approximate average pays in other sectors. That is why the committee demands an immediate and full realization of the law on shaping pays in the budgetary sphere.

Deputy Ryszard Bugaj (OKP) pointed to the necessity of simultaneous budget cuts for such were the intentions of deputies who rejected the draft, although he did not question the need to increase budget outlays for education, health service and certain subsidies.

Next the Sejm, with 299 votes for, one against and 24 abstentions, elected a 23-member extraordinary commission to examine the activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Statement on Czechoslovakia

Under another point of the agenda the chamber examined the Sejm's draft statement marking the 21st anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty troops intervention in Czechoslovakia, presented on behalf of the OKP by Adam Michnik.

Justifying the proposed statement, Michnik referred to assessments which appeared of late in the Soviet press to the effect that a lesson from those events should be embodied in the statement that one must not interfere with an armed force in the political affairs of another country, another nation, and that politics based on force is a dangerous illusion.

I want to stress, Deputy Michnik said, that the passing of a resolution is by no means an interference in internal affairs of another nation but it is just an attitude to one's own responsibility.

[Transmission interrupted, PAP part 5 not received]

Interpellations and Questions

In the final part of the debate the Sejm heard the replies to interpellations and questions of deputies, among them interpellation of Deputy Bronislaw Wilk (OKP) who said that a group of security service functionaries in Opole had allowed themselves to break the law and behave provocatively in relation to persons linked with independent or Solidarity circles.

In his reply, Undersecretary of State in the Internal Ministry Zbigniew Pudysz told the deputies that the charges made by author of the interpellation had been thoroughly examined. Charges of unlawful search in one of the apartments and on attempts to intimidate with the use of firearms were found ungrounded, while regional prosecutor's office in Opole continues investigation into the alleged arrest and beatup.

Vice Minister Pudysz also stressed that events referred to in the interpellation were associated with regulations abrogated last May when changes in the penal code considerably limited the possibilities of law enforcement functionaries to interfere in the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Deputy Wilk said that this explanation is chiefly based on reports by the functionaries and, therefore, one-sided. But he expressed hope that this affair would be clarified in an lawful way. He also told the house that in connection with his interpellation he received a considerable number of letters which he will pass to the newly-appointed extraordinary committee investigating into the activities of the Internal Ministry.

Taking the floor again, Vice-Minister Pudysz once again confirmed that the prosecutor continues investigation into the case of beatup done by security men in Opole. He also said that Deputy Wilk's proposals concerning organisational changes in the Internal Ministry will be considered by the ministry leaders.

Deputies also inquired into cases of paying too high premiums to persons holding managing post in Wroclaw enterprises.

Other interpellations were about the problem of small credits for farmers, price-making regulations discouraging development of farm equipment production, as well as systemic solutions in power production from lignite. They also drew attention to the fact that the denunciation by Polish Post Office of hitherto contract with RSW [Worker's Cooperative Publishing House] "press" concern is a serious threat to regular press distribution.

Vice-Marshal of the Sejm Tadeusz Fiszbach told the house abut new interpellations which had been given to the respective government members. Among the interpellations is one concerning the negligence to construction regulations by a Soviet Army unit in Swidnica.

This closed the Sejm meeting at 19.45 hrs.

Sejm Draft Condemns 1968 CSSR Intervention

LD1708154289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1439 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Speech by Deputy Adam Michnik at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Excerpt] Mr Speaker, may it please the house. I would like to read a draft declaration of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, and later in a few words justify why, in my (?opinion), to my mind, this is a sensible thing to adopt.

On the 21st anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Pact armies in the CSSR, the Polish Sejm sends fraternal greetings and expressions of respect to the Czech and Slovak peoples. In connection with the 21st anniversary of the intervention of the Warsaw Pact armies, with the participation of the Polish Army, in the CSSR the Polish Sejm regards it as its responsibility to present the following declaration:

This intervention was an infringement of the inalienable right of every nation to self-determination and natural striving for democracy, freedom, and respect for human rights. The entry of armed forces into Czechoslovakia took place without the consent of Polish society. The Sejm regards it as just to express sorrow and regret and at the same time condemns the armed intervention in 1968 which set back the democratization process in Czechoslovakia. Polish participation in this (?word) is that much more painful because we always placed and will continue to place the greatest hopes in our southern neighbor for strict cooperation in all spheres, and also for the simple, human friendship of the Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles.

We wish the forces of democratic renewal in Czechoslovakia success in (?work) for the good of the fatherland, and for its peoples, freedom, and sovereignty within the framework of a fully democratic state. [applause] [passage omitted]

OKP's Geremek Meets With Jaruzelski 17 Aug

LD1708163589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpts] A few minutes past 1230, the Visnews Television Network relayed photographs abroad from Warsaw. In Belweder Palace, President Wojciech Jaruzelski met with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP]. The talks dealt with the idea of getting out of the current government crisis. Deputy Geremek presented his floor group's stance. As he told us after the meeting, President Jaruzelski understands the necessity of calling a government with wide support, whose members would enjoy society's confidence, a government whose initiator and prime mover would be Solidarity. [passage omitted]

Belweder Palace, 1500: Arriving at the headquarters of Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski were: Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee; Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Peasant Party Supreme Committee; and Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Executive Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. The meeting is in progress.

Briefs Sejm Caucus on Talks

LD1708164289 Warsaw PAP in English 1530 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—During the meeting of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group, its chairman Bronislaw Geremek stated that his today's talk with Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski concerned mainly general issues connected with the way of forming the new government.

At the same time he informed the meeting that the questions of detailed decisions connected with setting up of the future cabinet would most probably be the subject

of the meeting between the president and the chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarity" and leaders of the United Peasants' Party and Democratic Party, to be held later in the day.

Comments on Jaruzelski Talks

LD1708203189 Warsaw PAP in English 1825 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—This was a very important and interesting talk for me, stated chairman of the OKP, Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group, Deputy Bronislaw Geremek after being asked by newsmen for an assessment of his meeting with President Wojciech Jaruzelski on Thursday.

I think that it was also important for the president. The topic of this discussion was the situation in the country associated with the protraction in the formation of the government and the possibility of overcoming this situation. I was very glad that the very matter of forming the government was not the topic of this discussion because the president expects direct talks on this matter with Lech Walesa, the OKP chairman said.

Geremek stated that after his talks with the president he positively assesses the chances of creating a government shortly in which "Solidarity" would play an inspirational and organizational role. Precisely this fact, that the formation of the government will take place at the inspiration of "Solidarity" is an event of extraordinary significance because this is a real break in the system of functioning of the "nomenklatura." I think that the talks with the president convinced me that such can be the case and that such will be the case, Geremek said.

Further on Meeting

LD1708202789 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—My discussion with the president mainly concerned matters associated with the way of forming a new government and the prospects of decisions being made in this respect, stated Deputy Bronislaw Geremek, the chairman of the OKP Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group while speaking about his talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski on Thursday. Geremek made the statements during a meeting of the DKP Floor Group held during a break in the Sejm's debates on Thursday.

While presenting the stance of the floor group, I stressed that by solely personnel movements one cannot solve the current problems of the country and that the formation of a government by "Solidarity" would be a clear sign of the changes taking place, Geremek said, adding: The president stated that regarding the formation of the government, he awaited proposals which Lech Walesa is to present to him and thinks that the complex situation calls for an expert nature of the new government, that it should be a government of "big expertise capacities."

The president stated that he understands the proposal to have "Solidarity" as the driving force of the new government and its consequences. At the same time he expressed a presumption that the decision regarding the government would probably be taken in a few days.

Jaruzelski Meets Walesa, Malinowski, Jozwiak

LD1708165189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski received Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa; Roman Malinowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee; and Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee, at Belweder Palace today. The fundamental topics of the discussion were the problems of the socio-economic and political situation of the country, and especially the matter associated with the creation of a government of the Polish People's Republic.

Lech Walesa presented the idea of an appointment of a coalition government of national responsibility with the participation of all pro-reform political forces represented in the Sejm.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski indicated the vital significance of the creation of a Polish People's Republic government that would enjoy the widest social trust and support and with the participation of representatives of all parliamentary political forces in the country. He announced the urgent consideration of the proposals presented to him and the implementation of germane consultations intended to reasonably quickly produce such a government in the interest of the nation and state.

Czeslaw Kiszczak participated in the meeting. The participants expressed respect and recognition for his efforts for the sake of reforms and national accord.

Walesa Views Jaruzelski, Malinowksi Meeting

LD1708195289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by unidentified correspondents following Walesa's meeting with President Jaruzelski; Roman Malinowski, chairman of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee; and Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee; at the Europejski Hotel in Warsaw on 17 August—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Chairman, you went along with Jerzy Jozwiak and Mr Malinowski to present some proposals to the president.

[Walesa] Well, we submitted them.

[Correspondent] And, in the middle of the meeting, to our surprise and shock, we noticed General Kiszczak, who later joined the meeting.

[Walesa] We learned that he has submitted his resignation from the post of prime minister. That is also why we all expressed to him our thanks and great recognition for going out to meet the needs of society, such as has occurred before in Poland and such as must be respected and thanked for such understanding of affairs. We all did this.

[Correspondent] Are we close to a new government?

[Walesa] We are closer rather than farther away.

[Correspondent] Next week?

[Walesa] Oh no. Listen. These are matters for the president. I really am not the president, and that is why the president appoints the prime minister and the prime minister says what is next, and more, more we cannot do. If we have (?made the law), let us practice it, and now let us respect it. Let us respect the president. We elected him and let us respect his decisions.

[Correspondent] Can you, sir...

[Walesa, interrupting] As you know, I supported Kiszczak for president, but if another (?is chosen or wins), then I must respect this.

[Correspondent] Can you repeat once again, sir, that you are not striving to be prime minister?

[Walesa] I repeat once again, I am not striving to be prime minister. I think that it ought to [word indistinct] public [word indistinct]. I am from them and for them. That is why I am staying with this. Although I will help form a government which would be appropriate, would be the maximum of our capabilities and also, the maximum for our needs.

[Correspondent] Would Geremek make a good prime minister?

[Walesa] But this is (?for) the president.

[Correspondent] But in your opinion?

[Walesa] There are in Poland really several people for prime minister.

[Correspondent] [Word indistinct] were specific matters discussed?

[Walesa] No, no. (?Please listen), once again, you are (?starting me off) from the other side. Do not take me for the president. I am not he.

SD Official on Malinowski-Walesa Talks

LD1708225289 Warsaw PAP in English 2214 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—Referring to today's talks with Roman Malinowski and Lech Walesa, chairman of the Democratic Party CC [Central Committee] Jerzy Jozwiak made a statement in which he said, excerpts:

"Today's talks with Walesa and Malinowski were held in the spirit of the round table agreements. We signed a joint statement on the formation of a parliamentary coalition, voicing our readiness to form a government that, as we deeply believe, has full premises to become a government of national confidence.

"The proposal presented to President Wojciech Jaruzelski gained general approval. It needs broad social support and primarily confidence expressed by the conditions of social calm, without emotions and conflicts."

Jaruzelski Receives Kiszczak Request for Recall

LD1708183489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski received a letter from Czeslaw Kiszczak. Kiszczak requested that Jaruzelski recall him from his post of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and to relieve him from the mission of forming the government.

PZPR Floor Group, OKP Meet at Sejm Break

LD1708210789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1750 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Parliamentary Floor Group and the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] met during a break in the Sejm deliberations. The PZPR Floor Group's main topic was the new political situation after the statements issued by the United Peasants Party, the Democratic Party, and the OKP. The members of the floor group recognized the need to come up with an initiative for the undertaking of talks with representatives of other floor groups on the subject of a part of the statement by the OKP relating to the creation of a government of national responsibility in which all the political forces of our country which favor political and economic reforms could be represented.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Discuss New Government

LD1708200089 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today PUWP [PZPR] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The meeting focused on the current political situation in the country with special consideration given to issues related to the formation of a new government.

Talks Open 'New Stage'

LD1708205989 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug, 17—After the Sejm plenary debates, PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met the PUWP Sejm Deputy Floor Group and told PUWP deputies about his talks with President Wojciech Jaruzelski today.

The PUWP CC first secretary stressed that the formula, contained in a communique on the talks of the president with Lech Walesa, Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Jozwiak saying that representatives of all forces represented in parliament would sit in the new government, was beneficial from the point of view of easing government crisis. Rakowski added that today's talks opened up a new stage in forming government.

Walesa Foresees Continuing Communist Role

AU1708195889 Paris AFP in English 1932 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Paris, Aug 17 (AFP)—The role of the official party in Poland will remain "quite important" despite formation of any coalition government in Poland, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said.

Mr. Walesa also said in an interview broadcast on French television Thursday that the Communist Party "must become more sincere, without hypocrisy". The interview was recorded before Solidarity and two smaller parties agreed to form a coalition without the ruling United Workers Party.

Mr. Walesa has in any event indicated that the party would retain the Defence and Interior Ministries in the event of a Solidarity-led coalition.

Leaders of the three non-communist parties met Thursday with Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and put forward the names of possible prime ministers of a coalition administration.

Walesa Interviewed on Formation of Government

AU1808141189 Mainz ZDF Television Service in German 2005 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Polish Solidarity movement, by ZDF correspondents Klaus Bresser and Klaus-Peter Siegloch in Warsaw; Walesa answers in Polish with superimposed German translation—live; intercepted in progress]

[Text] [Walesa] ...Those who were under the bandwagon are now on the bandwagon, and those who were formerly on the bandwagon are now under it. These are the laws and the rights [rechte]. We intend to adhere to the principles. You know that we are a Warsaw Pact member. You know that we have obligations, and no matter who governs the country will have to take these realities into account. We will do so. In addition, there are the economic problems, and in this respect we held different views. That will become manifest. However, we will not forget the principles.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, at first you said that you would be ready to become prime minister if the people call upon you to do so. Now that the people have called you, you have refused. Who will be the new chief of government? Will it be a Solidarity member?

[Walesa] That is not entirely correct. I told the people that I would remain what I am. I am a man of the people. I do not want to orient myself toward fulfilling my ambitions, nor do I want to think about my career. I only fulfill my obligations; I stay with the masses. I am one of them, and I will be wherever Poland needs help. Now this necessity exists. I stick to this theme, and I continue this theme. I want to help. However, then I will withdraw to my former position. I will go back to the shipyard. I want to remain a worker.

[Bresser] There will be a government in the East that for the first time will have no communist leadership. Your initiative started all of this. Is the electrician from Gdansk aware that he is making history?

[Walesa] I think that you are exaggerating. It is good that you broach this question. One talks at the crucial moment, at the moment of the actual fight. After that, however, one decelerates. Now that we are very seriously thinking about the country's fate, we must also very seriously consider the fact that there is a very strong Polish United Workers Party in this country, which is very influential within the police, within the militia, and among the people. It is not true that we have to consider all of its members bad, or that we have to simply reject all of them. Anyone forming a government must take these realities into account and must consider those forces that are oriented toward reform and are able to lead the institutions. Every prime minister will have to do so. It is natural that people shout very loudly on such occasions.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, does that mean that there will be a cabinet which will be led by Solidarity and will have a communist interior minister and a communist defense minister?

[Walesa] Look, we are too quick. [as heard] They have put forward certain rules, and we are reflecting on whether we should change them. I think that once we have agreed on them, we must observe them. Once we have elected a president, we must listen to him. He picked Prime Minister Kiszczak, and I have a very high opinion of him. Thus, the president, Jaruzelski, picks a prime minister. We have to accept that. Will Walesa say

that he does not want this person but another one? No. My role is to keep out of it. I am waiting for the president's decision, and then the prime minister will form a government.

[Siegloch] The Moscow paper PRAVDA has warned that the Warsaw Pact must not be jeopardized by a new government. Can Poland politically afford a government that is led by Solidarity?

[Walesa] I think that Poland can afford a lot. However, Poland must not forget where it stands, and what its obligations are, and it must realistically consider its possibilities and commitments. There is nothing we can do about it, and we have to consider and respect this. Solidarity must and will take these principles into account. Whether it will govern will depend on the president, because he has to decide.

[Bresser] You have repeatedly talked about Jaruzelski. Will he alone decide whether the future prime minister will be a member of Solidarity or a member of another party?

[Walesa] In Poland, the rules of consultations and democracy already apply. Anyone who is trying to assume responsibility and wants to be president, must consider everything. I am convinced that President Jaruzelski will consider everything and will make the best possible decision.

[Siegloch] You will be going to the Soviet Union soon. What will you tell Mikhail Gorbachev when you meet with him? Will you tell him that no matter what government we will have, Poland will remain socialist?

[Walesa] That depends on how much time I will have. If I have little time, I will just say hello. If I have more time, we will talk. I have a lot to say to Mr Gorbachev, and I also have to listen to what he will say. Mr Gorbachev is one of the greatest political jugglers of this epoch. To lead such a big country with so many problems, one must of course be a very talented juggler, and that is what he is.

[Bresser] At the time, in 1980, following strikes and unrest, you concluded an agreement with the Communists. However, 15 months later, martial law was imposed. That was the end for Solidarity—temporarily. Did you say at that time that such a thing would never happen again, and is that the reason why you intend to ensure power —power for Solidarity?

[Walesa] No, that is not true. I never said it this way. I have always also considered many variants of the further development, including that of Poland's history. One of the best variants was the one that happened. It has proved to be true that reforms are indispensable, and this is true. My work is marked by the pressure of time. Of course, I do not doubt that I will win. Our success does not mean that we defeat somebody. It means that we have found wise and necessary solutions which are also the result of developments. I see, gentlemen, that you have very many questions. However, I am only half conscious.

[Siegloch] Could we perhaps just discuss your change of mind which is a mystery to many people? You said 2 months ago that Solidarity is not yet ripe to assume government responsibility—at the earliest, in 4 years. What has changed?

[Walesa] Our development took place in steps, as you know. Whenever I mentioned a date, there was a sort of improvement which was then followed by the rebirth of the monopoly of the Polish United Workers Party. This movement took a course very similar to that at the time of the rebirth of the monopoly. We must embark on the evolutionary road. However, we must not allow ourselves to get caught in the wake of the monopoly again. We must not accept that. What forced us to do so at that time and what happened made it seem that that would be the way things would develop. The lesson of history is that we simply must watch out and prevent the rebirth of the monopoly. The lesson for us must be that we must return to the evolutionary road. Everybody must of course remember that we signed an agreement at the roundtable that we have decided in favor of taking the evolutionary road.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, the entire communist world is changing. Will there be more market economy, more pluralism, more democracy, and openness in Poland with the help of Solidarity?

[Walesa] I do not have to prove that the political system is responsible for the fact that we do not have a good economy. Therefore, we must have pluralism, democracy, and a new system. Only this system will allow us to have more bread and a better economy. That is a normal development, and that is the direction that we are following. Excuse me, but I am totally exhausted.

[Bresser] Mr Walesa, thank you very much for this brief interview at the end of a very long and difficult day which will continue tonight. Thank you very much, Mr Walesa.

Cardinal Glemp, Walesa Discuss New Government

LD1708210389 Warsaw PAP in English
2015 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—Poland's Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp received Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa during supper time today. Lech Walesa presented his steps taken over the past few days that had aimed to form a new government, the Secretariat of the Polish primate says.

The interlocutors stated the need to take effective steps to form government capable to solve the difficult historic situation. The primate assured about prayers for the intention of the greatest possible unity of people who assume responsibility for running the state.

Rokita Heads Sejm Committee on Internal Affairs

LD1708214189 Warsaw PAP in English
2125 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—An extraordinary Sejm committee to examine the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was set up after the Sejm meeting today.

Deputy Jan Rokita of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor group was elected the committee's chairman and deputies Stanislaw Gabrielski of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] and Marian Kedzierski of the United Peasant Party were elected vice-chairmen.

Rakowski Briefs Floor Group on Jaruzelski Talks

LD1708231789 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski met here today with the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group to brief the deputies on the talk he had held earlier today with President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Rakowski stressed that the formula of the communique on the president's talks with Lech Walesa, Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Jozwiak which says that the new government will be composed of representatives of all forces represented in parliament helps defuse the cabinet crisis. This is a concept the PUWP was coming out with. I think that the striving to create a great coalition government starts to take shape. The talks held on Thursday open up a new phase in the formation of the government, Rakowski said.

At the close of the meeting which was chaired by Deputy Marian Orzechowski, the PUWP Floor Group adopted a statement which read in part:

Poland is again facing a dramatic choice. We need new ideas, new constructions and new solutions. The PUWP deputies suggest an urgent consideration of the idea of a supra-party government. A government which would be supported by all of us or by an overwhelming majority. A government which would not get entangled in political disputes, which would not lose its energy in personnel games, in seeking revenge for earlier wrongs.

Formation of such government should be preceded by all parliamentary forces concluding an agreement concretizing its tasks and powers. Personnel decisions should have a secondary character. Government members should be appointed on the basis of trust bestowed upon them personally. They will not represent their respective parties and will be responsible before parliament alone.

However, irrespective of the final formula of the government, the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group expresses satisfaction at the readiness of the Citizens Parliamentary Club and other social forces to directly participate in government. We perceive this as a new quality, indispensable for our society and state.

Jaruzelski Continues Consultations in Belweder

LD1808122189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski is continuing consultations on the subject of forming a new government.

At this moment, in the Belweder Palace, a meeting is being held between the president and representatives of: PAX—Zenon Komender; the Christian Social Union—Kazimierz Morawski; and the Polish Catholic-Social Union—Wieslaw Gwizd.

According to information we have been given by the president's spokesman another meeting is planned, between the president and Jan Dobraczynski [chairman of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and Wojciech Obarski, deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Accord, OPZZ.

Jaruzelski To Designate Solidarity Candidate

LD1708205189 Warsaw PAP in English
1954 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 17—During a meeting of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP), convened immediately after today's Sejm debaters, Deputy Jacek Kuron said that during a meeting with the Polish president, Lech Walesa presented a stand on government inspired by Solidarity and to be led by Solidarity premier.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said that he in principle accepted the stand. The president said he would designate a Solidarity candidate premier in the coming future, Deputy Kuron added.

Offers Premiership to Mazowiecki

AU1808104489 Paris AFP in English
1033 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 18 (AFP)—President Wojciech Jaruzelski has invited Tadeusz Mazowiecki to become Polish prime minister, sources close to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Friday. It was not immediately known whether Mr. Mazowiecki, 62, one of Mr. Walesa's closest advisers, had accepted the position.

Mazowiecki Meets Jaruzelski

AU1808133489 Hamburg DPA in German 1236 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Solidarity's candidate for the office of prime minister, was received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski in Warsaw on Friday [18 August]. It is not yet known when Jaruzelski will appoint the candidate whom he intends to suggest to parliament as chief of a coalition government. Reportedly, he will appoint a candidate this Saturday [19 August]. The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is also scheduled to meet for a special session on Saturday.

PAP Notes Meeting

LD1808142289 Warsaw PAP in English 1330 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 18—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The two discussed issues related with the formation of a new government against the backdrop of the country's political and economic situation.

Mazowiecki on Prospects of Forming Government

LD1808145389 Hamburg DPA in German 1428 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The trade union Solidarity's candidate for the office of Polish premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, today spoke with President Wojciech Jaruzelski in Warsaw about the possibility of forming a government in Poland. In reply to the question of whether the president now wishes to entrust him with the office, he told journalists: "I believe that I was invited on this account." The decision will be made in the very near future. He foresees great difficulties but it is a question of "people feeling that things can be better." Someone has to try.

In many important moments in their history the Poles have shown "that they can find new, atypical solutions and that we can achieve something." It is important that the people feel "that there is something that depends on us ourselves," and that the youth see a new chance for their future.

Mazowiecki did not say how long he will need to form a government. He understands the population's impatience, but this is a government based on "totally new principles" and he therefore needs time. He will be going to some woods tomorrow "in order to think things over."

After his talk with Jaruzelski, which he described as a "very serious meeting," Mazowiecki was received by the Catholic Church Primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. Afterwards he spoke in the Sejm building with Solidarity's parliamentary group leader, Bronislaw Geremek, and with other members of the parliamentary group executive. He assured them that his decision is also dependent on them.

Warsaw District Committee on Political Situation

LD1708232389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The position of the Warsaw-Ochota Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] District Committee, adopted during a committee plenum, has been published. It states that the leadership of the state and the party in the policies it is conducting and decisions it is making should be directed by a proper assessment of its partners and by political realism, not by political naivete and the repetition of old mistakes, evidence of which is the current government crisis. We protest the nonadherence to roundtable decisions, begun by the main opposition leaders.

The position of the Warsaw-Ochota PZPR District Committee emphasizes that the current situation requires a new look at cooperation with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party and the establishment of principles measuring up to the needs of cooperation with the opposition.

Apart from this, it states that the situation in the party will not be improved either by personnel changes within the bounds of the current Central Committee plenum, or by a hurriedly prepared congress. What is necessary is a deep change in the party structures, moving away from the bureaucratic style and endorsing more solutions accepted by the party base.

Soviet Statement on Political Situation Cited

LD1708194289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1857 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] A dispatch from Moscow: The press spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yuriy Gremetskikh, has again replied to questions relating to the situation in our country. He stated: I would like to repeat that the process of the formation of the Polish Government is solely an internal Polish affair. One hopes that political forces represented in the Polish National Assembly are capable of resolving problems in correspondence with the interests of the Polish state.

Regarding the opinion of the Soviet Government on the possibility of the formation of a Polish Council of Ministers under the direction of Lech Walesa, the spokesman replied that similar questions have a hypothetical character and that it is better to wait and observe the course of events.

Democratic Party Leader Meets Soviet Ambassador

LD1108204389 Warsaw PAP in English
1946 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—Chairman of the Democratic Party [DP] CC [Central Committee] Jerzy Jozwiak met here today with USSR Ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovikov.

During the meeting discussed were some of the problems connected with starting inter-party cooperation between the CPSU and DP. The sides exchanged views on developments in the socio-political situation in the Soviet Union and Poland pointing to irreversibility of both 'perestroyka'in the USSR and deep political and economic reforms in Poland. They also underlined conditions for these processes agreeing that they are conducive to extension of mutual cooperation of all countries in Europe and the world.

The DP chairman stressed that clearing up of 'blank spots' in the history of the bilateral relations will be an important impulse for strengthening friendship between the two nations.

Sila-Nowicki Discusses Meeting With Kiszczak

LD0908210989 Warsaw PAP in English
2039 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 9—After the press published a report on Prime Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak's meeting with Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki yesterday, PAP asked him today to comment on the talk.

The meeting resulted mainly from my activity in the Labour Party, Sila-Nowicki said. The talk with Czeslaw Kiszczak was an exchange of views, he added and said:

"I can say that we understand each other very well though we can have different opinions on various issues. I positively assessed Czeslaw Kiszczak's nomination to the post of prime minister and I believe that he is the most proper man to be in the post, as on the one hand he has a strong position in the party where he has always presented a progressive and liberal trend, and on the other hand, I consider him an architect of the round table," said Sila-Nowicki.

"Poland is such a strange country where the interior minister is the most liberal one. I think that Czeslaw Kiszczak deals with the difficulties with admirable good spirits and does not lose his composure and optimism," Sila-Nowicki observed.

"I have always been—irrespective of my activity in the Labour Party—very close to 'Solidarity.' I was Lech Walesa's adviser for years. And I present my opinions on significant issues to him as I consider it my duty," Sila-Nowicki said.

CSU Adopts Statement on Government Coalition

LD1708202889 Warsaw PAP in English
1920 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—The supreme authorities of the Christian Social Union [CSU] conferred here today. A statement adopted at the meeting reads among other things:

The hitherto coalition ceased to exist, this being proved among other things by the protracting political crisis over the appointment of a new government. This causes a general chaos, economic in particular, which is deepening every day. As a consequence, the day-to-day existence of the majority of Polish families is endangered.

A man in the street cannot understand just why political forces which a few months ago at the round table could reach agreement and work out a vision of an evolutionary restructuring of Poland from monocentrism to parliamentary democracy while today, being present in the Sejm, cannot create a national government, bring this country to the verge of a catastrophe.

We think that the situation requires organization and bringing together all those forces existing in Poland and operate independently from the main political subjects, co-architects of the round table which created and give priority to a bi-polar, dualistic rather than pluralistic set-up. This state of affairs can no longer be maintained. Today it is forbidden to reject and ignore nobody who wants to serve a new vision of Poland.

We come out for a government of experts which would be supported by all forces present in parliament, and also by those who participate in public life but are not represented in the Sejm.

Polish Green Party Holds Regional Meeting

LD0908205789 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1515 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Interview with Dr Zygmunt Fura, spokesman for the Polish Green Party, by unidentified correspondent—date, place not given]

[Text] In Szklarska Poreba, the first regional meeting of representatives of the Polish Green Party has taken place. Up to now, the Ecological Club has been known in Lower Silesia. The Green Party is a new element in Poland's political landscape. Also taking part in the meeting were sympathisers of the movement from Bulgaria and the GDR:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Is the name Green Party, Polish Green Party, not at present a somewhat grandiloquent description for your movement?

[Fura] No. God forbid, it's not a grandiloquent description. It was the actual name from the beginning of this movement, that is, from 14 September, when 13 people

met, drafted an initial platform, and described themselves as a party. Why? Because we all want to shed this totalitarian straitjacket today, and that is in everything—in culture, politics, the economy, particularly in ecology—and we also lay a claim to this.

Reportage on Strikes at Mines, Enterprises

Demands Presented at Marcel Mine

LD1708132589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1046 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Unfortunately no days recently have been free from work stoppages and protest actions in various regions of Poland. Today we also have news on this subject from Katowice:

[Unidentified correspondent] In the hard coal mine, Marcel, in Wodzislaw Slaski, an hour-long warning strike, which was started yesterday at 0600 has developed into a sit-in strike. About midday, after collecting demands from the work-force, talks were started with the enterprise management. The strikers, demanded, among other things, a minimal monthly wage of Z300,000 for face workers for the so-called black days and a minimal wage for employees employed on the surface was supposed to be Z200,000, without including pay for work on free days. The list of demands handed to the management also contains propositions connected with the method of achieving recent pay regulations in mining, which came into force on 1 July. Yesterday until late in the evening experts from the National Mining Commission of NSZZ [Independent Self Governing Trade Union] Solidarity, who, together with the mine's directorship, carried out assessments as to the validity of the demands put forward particularly the possibility of implementing them, were at the mine. At the moment in the mine only safety services and the heat and power generating plant are working. A strike was also started this morning in the Anna mine in Wodzislaw Slaski, where the strikers put forward similar demands.

Solidarity Commission Statement

LD1708205289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The miners who have been striking since yesterday in the Marcel mine were joined today at 0600 hours by the first shift of the Anna mine.

The National Commission of Mining of NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Solidarity Trade Union] has issued a statement.

[Begin unidentified national commission of mining official recording] First: the protest of the enterprise of the Slasko- Dabrowski region on 16 August of this year was of a socio-political character in connection with the current economic and political situation in the country.

Second: in the greater majority of the protesting enterprises the actions were calm and short, lasting up to 1 hour. The forms the protest actions took were varied and chosen at will.

Third: the continuous strike in the Anna and Marcel mines is considered an action not in accordance with the overall policy of NSZZ Solidarity. We appeal to the crews of these mines to break their strike and make their proposals to the national commission for mining of NSZZ Solidarity, which has an established timetable of tasks in the area of compensatory and pay-claim actions and also in that of the reform of the mining industry—among other things, the elimination of the so-called intermediary structures. Individual actions can only disturb and put a brake on the implementation of our joint cause.

Fourth: in national matters we stand against pseudo-reforms, pseudo-marketizations, the enfranchisement of the nomenklatura, and other such antisocial actions. We express full support for the initiative of Lech Walesa of forming a coalition government with the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party. From the new government we expect energetic and honest reformatory actions.

[Signed] On behalf of the National Mining Commission, Alojzy Pietrzyk, chairman [end recording]

Union Roadblocks Disrupt Traffic

LD1708211189 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 17—Heavy road-building machines and trucks blocked roads for two hours in several Polish provinces today, including Elblag, Kalisz, Bydgoszcz, Zielona Gora, Koszalin and Krosno, the go-ahead being given only to ambulance and fire- fighting services and to vehicles carrying children and youth.

The protest action had been called by the national strike committee of road workers operating at the public roads authority in Kalisz affiliating trade unionists from the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance OPZZ and Solidarity. They demand a wage rise which would make their pays equal to those in the five main sectors of the economy, but the rise should not be lower than 120 thousand zloties for one employee. The trade unionists also demand higher outlays for maintenance of roads and road objects and a change of the organizational structure in their own sector.

Vice-Minister of Transport, Shipping and Communication Adam Wieladek told PAP that the All-Poland Strike Committee had sent a telex to the ministry on August 9 in which it presented the said postualtes and set the deadline for August 31. The telex also spoke of the active protest actions.

The minister of transport, shipping and communications informed the trade unionists on August 11 that such actions are discordant with the law. At the same time the ministry made attempts at talks with both trade union organizations affiliating road workers. The date of talks was fixed for August 12, but negotiations were ruled out for it was the strike committee which arrived for talks.

The telex correspondence with the trade unionists lasted till August 17. The start of protest actions two weeks before the deadline set by the strike committee is simply an attempted blackmail. Even so, the transport minister recommended that the director-general of public roads should start talks with the strike committee even on August 18.

17 Aug Situation Outlined

LD1808010289 Warsaw PAP in English 2357 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 17—Today was the second day of the sit-in strike at the Marcel coal mine at the locality of Wodzislaw Slaski.

The sit-in strike was started today also by miners of the Anna coal mine in Wodzislaw Slaski. They make similar wage demands like at the Marcel mine and demand the acceleration of reformatory steps in mining, member of the Solidarity National Mining Commission Grzegorz Stawski said. The Solidarity National Mining Commission debating here also today with the participation of chairmen of factory commissions of coal mines and other mining plants formulated the following statement, excerpts:

"The protest by factories of the Upper Silesian Region on August 16 had a socio-political character in connection with Poland's current economic and political situation. The actions took place quietly and for a short period of time—up to one hour—in a decisive majority of protesting factories. We deem a continuous strike in the Anna and Marcel coal mines an action incompatible with the overall policy of Solidarity that has fixed its time-table of work both as regards actions linked to demands and wages as these concerning the reform of mining."

The press office of the Upper Silesian region said today that a strike alert was announced today starting from 2.00 p.m. at the Morcinek coal mine in the locality of Kaczyce as part of a sympathy action with the Marcel coal mine. If postulates of the Marcel coal mine are not satisfied till 8.00 p.m. on the same day (Thursday), the Morcinek coal mine is to start a sympathy sit-in strike.

A four-hour warning strike was staged at the chemical plant in the locality of police near Szczecin from 11.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m. the protest concerned the wages system.

A sit-in strike by a working crew of the press photo-printing factory in Gdansk ended today in signing a protocol of agreements between the national strike committee and the main board of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch workers publishing cooperative (RSW). This means also stopping protest actions in the RSW other printing factories, on behalf of which talks concerning chiefly wages problems were carried out.

Silesia Workers Strike in Support

LD1808111689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] At exactly 1200 [1000 GMT] today a 1-hour Solidarity-organized general warning strike began in Lower Silesian enterprises. Such great enterprises as Archemedes, Polar, Pafawag, and Dolmel stopped working. The strikers are supporting an 8 August statement by Solidarity leaders, protesting against the chaos in the country's economy and politics. They are also demanding an immediate improvement in health service. In line with an announcement, shops are only to stop working for 1 minute, the health service has been excluded from the strike, and only flags, posters, and banners have appeared on buildings as a sign of solidarity with the strikers.

Strike Situation Updated 18 Aug

LD1808124489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1055 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Miners from the Marcel mine in Wodzislaw Slaski are still on strike. [passage omitted] The strikers also have formulated demands to depoliticize the mine. Antoni [name indistinct], the press spokesman of enterprise for the extraction of coal in Jastrzebie, is reporting by phone on the situation in the mine.

[Antoni] After yesterday, today a kind of polarization of forces can be seen to be occurring. Opinions are starting to be somewhat divided, which results from yesterday's visit by representatives of the National Mining Commission to the mine. The representatives are the ones who put forward and motivated the stance accepted yesterday. [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] The Morcinek mine in Kaczyce stopped working last night, putting forward similar demands. The strike in the Anna mine in Wodzislaw Slaski has, however, ended and the work forces started working normally on the first shift.

This morning, a strike started in the Przyjazn coking plant in Dabrowa Gorniczna the production of which secures the needs of the Katowice steelworks to a great extent. At 1000, the plant's management started talks with the strike committee. Among the demands is one for a 100-percent pay increase. Only services indispensible for the maintainance of the technological continuity are working in the coking plant.

Jaruzelski To Pardon Minor Offenders on Jubilee

LD1808123789 Warsaw PAP in English
1121 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 18—The main board of the Polish Red Cross (PCK) asked state authorities to take a humanitarian action of clemency to mark the 70th annivarsary of the PCK and to join celebrations of the 125th anniversary of the International Red Cross movement.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers presented concrete proposals in this respect to Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The president approved of the proposals' humanitarian aims and of their conformity to the already made and intended amendments to the penal law. He is going to use the prerogative of mercy, that is to remiss penalties of convicts whose sentences could not be appealed and who may be either listed as disability pensioners of the first or the second group, are 60-year old women or 65-year old men, have parental custody of under-18 children or were themselves under 18 during committing a punishable act.

The president obliged the Polish prosecutor-general and the military prosecutor-general to start pardon proceedings in relation to those persons. They will cover persons convicted till last July 20 whose verdicts could not be appealed and who were sentenced to less than three years of imprisonment or arrest for offences and misdemeanours with the exclusion of habitual offenders.

Jaruzelski Asks Registration of Students Union

LD1008213389 Warsaw PAP in English
1935 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 10—During a meeting held between Poland's president and representatives of youth organizations on July 27, the chairmen of these organizations, being guided by a desire to reach full normalization of social life in universities, forwarded a motion to solve the problem of the registration of the NZS independent students union.

Referring to this motion, President Wojciech Jaruzelski asked the chairman of the Council of Ministers to have the supreme state administration bodies take action which could create legal premises necessary for the court to positively settle the motion for the registration of the NZS.

Rakowski on Public Order, Party Grassroots

LD0908195989 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] The leading aktiv of the Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership held a meeting today with party First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak, and Politburo member Leszek Miller, taking part. Under discussion was the state of internal security and public order. Danuta Maciejewska asked Mieczyslaw Rakowski for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] I am meeting various groups, first, because it is my duty. Second, the Security Service and Civic Militia are, after all, very important factors for securing order in Poland. It would be strange if I, as the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, left this group on the side. My presence here is not meant, of course, as any kind of demonstration. I would like to recall that a few days ago I visited the military; on Monday I was in Zeran among the workers, and tomorrow I will meet those who present different ways of thinking in our party. In other words this meeting is a part of getting acquainted with the groups which play and will play a decisive role.

The topics under discussion today include: the situation in the party, how I see the party congress, the 11th congress, what I would like to change, and what I would like to get from the party members. This is the goal. Party members here are in uniform or in civilian clothes, but above all they are party members and as such I will expect advice and pointers from them because one of my most important duties is to maintain permanent contacts with the so-called party grassroots.

[Maciejewska] What would you expect from all party members? After all, times are hard.

[Rakowski] I expect courage, energy in action, flexibility, faith in our ability to change the current reality to the benefit of Poland, keeping in mind that although the reality is difficult, it is us, the people, who are creating it. I am expecting the party members to support me in such thinking. [end recording]

Interview With Soviet on Polish Economy Cited

LD1608104989 Warsaw PAP in English
0958 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 16—Neither difficulties in the Polish and Soviet economies nor Poland's and the USSR's drive towards joining the world economy will result in weakening economic ties between our countries, stated Soviet Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Ivan Aboymov in an interview for the Moscow-based "IZVYESTIYA" daily.

While characterizing the scope of the Polish-Soviet cooperation over past 45 years, Aboymov underlined the bilateral economic links between and interdependence of the two partners.

The vice-minister pointed to the fact that except for a few cases, new forms of cooperation introduced of late, for instance direct links between Soviet and Polish enterprises, have not brought about planned results yet and they have not turned into cooperation as the elements of the two economies are not sufficiently synchronized.

In the times when ministries and industrial amalgamations played a leading role in economic cooperation, the issue had no essential importance, Ivan Aboymov continued. Today the situation has changed and the role of currency and financial elements has grown. In recent years the growth rate of bilateral turnover was the measure of success in development of cooperation. From that point of view, the Polish-Soviet economic cooperation looked very well. But the basis for the optimistic picture was a conservative structure of division of labour between our countries founded on the exchange of Soviet fuel and power producing materials for Polish manufactured goods.

Development of the Polish-Soviet cooperation, Aboymov said, will be carried alongside growing turnover with the world economy, the capitalist one including. But this normal process that expresses an objective trend towards internationalization of economic life should not be opposed to the Polish-Soviet bilateral relations. The process should not be considered as harmful to the traditional ties between our two countries, Vice-Minister Aboymov stated.

Swiecicki Receives Angolan Party Official

LD1108203489 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] Central Committee Secretary Marcin Swiecicki received today Paulo Miguel Junior, secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola—Workers' Party (MPLA-PT).

At a friendly meeting Swiecicki informed Junior on the premises and character of the ongoing political and economic reforms in Poland and on directions of party activity in the nearest future.

Junior discussed the internal situation in Angola and his party's activity for healing the economy, political stabilization and solution to the problem of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The two officials voiced satisfaction over development of cooperation between their parties.

30 School Youths Demonstrate in Poznan

LD0908225289 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] An hour ago, a several-minute-long picket was mounted in front of the Poznan party voivodship committee building by a nearly 30-strong group of young people, mostly of school age, claiming to be representatives of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party], Solidarity, and the Independent Students Union. Slogans and banners were raised: Down with the commune, together with Jaruzelski and Kiszczak; PZPR is our Polish People's Republic. To the militiamen forming a cordon around the voivodship committee building, they shouted: MO [Civic Militia] Gestapo; Kiszczak's people. On one of the windows on the first floor of the building, there appeared a green paint stain. Not finding support from passers-by, picket participants marched to Liberty Square. We leave commentaries to you, ladies and gentlemen.

Ceausescu Interview With NEWSWEEK Reported

AU1708144689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Aug 89 pp 1, 6

[Interview With President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest by NEWSWEEK managing editor Kenneth Auchincloss and NEWSWEEK correspondent for Europe Michael Meyer on 31 July]

[Text] President Nicolae Ceausescu received on July 31, 1989 Kenneth Auchincloss, managing editor of the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK, and Michael Meyer, the magazine's correspondent for Europe, to whom he granted an interview released in Bucharest today. Romania's president approaches, inter alia, the following questions in his interview:

—The stages covered by Romania in socio-economic development:

This year Romania is celebrating 45 years since the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation. Forty-five years ago Romania was a poorly developed country. This country has turned industrial-agrarian, with a modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture. All this has been buttressed by major changes in the economic and social structure. In our opinion we have covered about four distinct development stages through this interval of time. From the bourgeois-landlord system, with many feudal remains, Romania has reached now the stage of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

A decisive role in this evolution was played by the 1965 Ninth Party Congress. As a matter of fact, we marked the 24th anniversary of this congress a week ago. Why do we consider the Ninth RCP Congress such an important event? Because it ended a period of imitation and manifestation of dogmatism, restored the people's sense of dignity and independence and marked the transition to building socialism through the application of the general laws of society's development and of the principles of scientific socialism to Romania's specific realities and conditions. We attached foremost importance to developing industry, agriculture and the other sectors. Romanian industries produce today practically 135 times more than in 1945, and agriculture over 10 times; the national income has increased over 40 times.

—The targets of the program of development and modernization of localities:

All this called for a far-reaching reorganization of all sectors. Falling in that framework was also the 1968 program of territorial-administrative reorganization, development and modernization of the territory. In 1968 we reverted to the county system which is traditional in Romania, eliminating regions and districts. We laid great stress on the development of towns and communes as basic units of territorial-administrative self-management. From the very beginning we set out to locate industries and the other socioeconomic activities in all counties, in keeping with the principle that only the harmonious development of all the country's zones will secure a rise in the general civilization standard, in living standard, and truly equal rights for all the homeland's citizens. There is no county without having new enterprises built by the dozen, and old ones developed and modernized. Above all, it has been our concern that per capita incomes in industry, services and other domains get more or less balanced. Not even, because that is not possible. But we have aimed to wipe away this country's division into industrially developed and large income generating zones with no industry and no or very low incomes.

That has been one of the basic lines of the whole country's economic-territorial development and modernization. On that basis, towns have vigorously developed, new towns have been created, while communes have also witnessed a certain development, even if not that brisk. We may presently affirm that we have gone almost all through the way to town modernization and to solving the housing problem. Virtually, more than 80 percent of the town population live in new houses. As a matter of fact, anyone can see construction in all Romanian towns.

As I said before, we wanted to build in villages too, to help their dwellers build better houses for themselves. A lot has been done along this line, but there is still a yawning gap between living conditions in towns and in villages, though, I repeat, they are beyond comparison to those in the past, but they are still not up to our wishes.

That is why, examining 20 years later the way in which the territorial organization and planning projects had been carried out, we decided to pay greater attention to the development of communes as basic territorial-administrative units, comprising several villages each.

We took into account the need strongly to develop self-management, self-sufficiency and self-administration, both in towns and in communes. This prompted us to pass on to working out programs for the socioeconomic development of all the country's localities, of the towns and communes, and we have lately placed greater emphasis on communes, which, I repeat, have lagged behind towns. Of course, we envisage to develop strongly agriculture, while also expanding certain large- and small-scale industrial activities. We should like 25-30 percent of the peasantry's incomes to be derived in the long run from industrial activities, which will entail a considerable improvement in the general standard of villages.

Moreover, we wish to complete the equipment of communes with social facilities, to ensure, in all of them, 10-year education which is compulsory for the whole youth and, starting next year, to create conditions for children in the countryside to attend 12-year schools in localities as close as possible to their own communes. We

believe that creating conditions for education in villages similar to those enjoyed by young people in towns is one of our vital and most topical necessities.

We also want to secure proper health-care services for village dwellers adding up to what we did in the past by providing the adequate health units and physicians so that the commune inhabitants may get medical attendance as close to their homes as possible, except for those medical specialties which require them to go to towns. We also endeavor to better organize cultural-educational activities, in which Romania boasts long-standing traditions. It is our wish that no commune be without cultural, artistic and educational establishments. As a matter of fact, we have one of the most developed cultural activities in villages, unfolding as part of the "Song to Romania" national festival.

Our programs also focus on the development of trading activities and services. As you may see, we intend to have in communes virtually everything townspeople have, less of noise and pollution.

At the same time, we plan to improve housing construction in communes. We intend to have dwellings built with state aid for all specialists engineers, technicians, teachers, and others as well as for the workers in communes, helping the inhabitants of rural localities too, build better houses for themselves, as part of a more modern locality planning and organization system.

That is our long-term goal and program. Naturally, we need a long time to attain it. But we hope in 15-20 years to change radically the appearance of the communes, to improve considerably their socioeconomic development and living standards, and to bring living conditions of commune or village dwellers closer to those of townspeople. Not to equalize but to approximate them. In our opinion, this is one of the essential requirements of Romania's progress and it is part of our program of building socialism, which must ensure the best possible living conditions, from all points of view, to all citizens. We are convinced that we shall achieve this program.

—The truth about realities in Romania:

I am aware that many untruths have also been said, and socialist construction in Romania has been slandered in the West.

Some people I am referring especially to journalists have given credence to what they heard, without having first-hand knowledge of realities. But, why not say it, there have been some who deliberately distorted things, falsely depicting the policy and realities in Romania. There have been fair journalists too, who came to Romania and wrote or made telecasts about what they saw, but those people were somehow persecuted in their countries. So, it is not only a misunderstanding, but one may say that some ill-meaning circles and persons have tried to distort facts for obviously hostile purposes.

But, as the saying goes, lies have short legs.

Concerns and results in improving management and promoting democracy:

We have always started from the idea that each country, each party should achieve its socioeconomic development and socialist construction in keeping with its own realities and its outlook on these things. As I said before, we have long given up set patterns and "unique models". Twenty years ago we used to be criticized for "departing" from the principles of socialism, refusing to apply foreign models and patterns.

We think society's transformation and socioeconomic development should be made not by leaps but by a consistent policy fitted to the real possibilities of the country, of the people and securing the organization of the entire activity of the basis of scientific and technological breakthroughs.

Since the Ninth Congress, we have introduced self-management, self-administration. We have made deep changes in economic management. We have improved the activity of our parliament, the Grand National Assembly as we call it, made up of workers, peasants, intellectuals and, of course, activists from various spheres, given the fact that a parliament should mirror the social pattern and give priority to workers, peasants and intellectuals. We have introduced the principle of several nominations for one deputy seat and this holds true also for county, town and commune people's councils to which over 60,000 local deputies are elected.

But, in our opinion, parliamentary democracy alone was not enough for the new realities in Romania and thus we founded new democratic bodies. First of all, we set up working people's councils in all economic and social units, as management bodies deciding on the activity of those units. We created general meetings of working people in all units, as meetings of owners, producers and end-users. The general meeting in an enterprise, producer cooperative farm or educational or research unit is the supreme body that debates and decides on everything to be achieved in that unit. We did all that already 20 years ago.

We founded democratic bodies similar to these councils at a county and national level. Every 5 years we convene a working people's congress attended by some 11,000 people, the majority of whom are workers involved in the production sector; we also hold an agriculture congress once every 5 years, with the participation of some 11,000 people, almost all of whom are peasants, workers, or experts from agriculture; likewise, we convene a similar congress for science and teaching, which is attended by some 7,000 people, and a congress of education and culture, with the participation of some 5-6,000 people. On these occasions, we elect the leading bodies in charge of running the activity during the congresses, namely the national councils; these councils

directly participate in working out the country's domestic and foreign policy. For example, we have recently issued the master program for 1991-95 and for a longer term until 2000-10. It has been submitted to the debate of the whole party and people until the party congress, which will have to endorse it in November. Therefore, the program to be adopted will actually be the outcome of our whole nation's debates and will.

We have set out from the scientific idea of building socialism with the people and for the people. Everything we achieve has got the people's agreement, and is done for the people's welfare and happiness. This explains why our party is followed by the whole people, why our policy enjoys the backing of the whole nation.

We also keep informed of what happens in various countries. Of course, we do not interfere in the affairs of others, we believe each party should shape its own development path as it thinks, but we are worried by certain measures taken in some countries, measures which actually mean renunciation of the principles of socialism. They mean a turning back or, as a French newspaper put it a return to capitalism. But such a line can only worsen the economic and social situation of the countries or country taking it and this would certainly bear on political and economic stability and on international relations as well.

Given the fact that for more than twenty years we have focused on the country's organization on new bases smoothly, not by fits and starts, we are free of suchlike concerns at present. Our goal now is to steadily better our organization system. We intend to modernize industry, agriculture, all socioeconomic sectors by relying on the breakthroughs of science and technology. Our view is that what corresponds to a certain level today will be obsolete in 1 or 2 years from now if we do not work for improvement. We want our country to permanently keep pace with the latest advances in world science, to achieve its progress and development by relying on this knowledge. Indeed, as we stated at a civic rally, we want to become a people possessing a remarkable culture and science by 2000, for this is the only way of securing the development, independence, sovereignty and welfare of the whole nation.

Asked whether he thinks would that the measures being taken in Hungary and Poland eventually bring harm to the respective peoples, President Nicolae Ceausescu answered: It is difficult to say, now. A survey of human society's development shows what everybody knows, i.e. that it started from the primitive commune and went through the slave-owning system with the intermediate period. This was followed by feudalism and then by capitalism with their good but also bad things. Seventy years ago socialism emerged, developed and brought about many good things. Of course, drawbacks and deficiencies have also cropped up. As a matter of fact there is no human society spared the need to overcome certain states of affairs in its development, but a comeback has never been seen. Even the United States, which waged a long war against slavery, has never intended to return to it. Any similar return can only be harmful to any nation.

—The country's own effort underlying the paying off of the foreign debt:

Last March Romania paid off its foreign debt. In 1980 our foreign debt stood at more than 11 billion dollars. All through this time we had to pay almost twice as much. This asked for great efforts but I think "great sacrifices" are not the best words to define them.

Efforts were made, indeed. But we could pay off our foreign debt thanks to the strong economy we have built. In the meantime, we went on developing the forces of production—virtually all sectors. From 1980 to date, we have made domestic investments worth some 2,000 billion lei which is tantamount to over 200 billion dollars. Throughout this interval—when we were paying our foreign debt we were able to fulfil many of our major programs of socioeconomic development. During these years, we built the Danube-Black Sea Canal, developed the Dimbovita River, built the underground, fulfilled Bucharest's modernization project, carried through vast irrigation and housing programmes. All this comes to prove that had we not secured the means for general socioeconomic development, we could not have paid off our foreign debt. Indeed, we have earmarked almost one third of the national income to development, but we have done it since 1965, as we set out from the fact that without ensuring the development of the production forces—of industry, agriculture, transport, the other activities, and of course, of science, education and culture—we could not secure adequate progress of Romania.

Living standards have not decreased in this period, either: Twice we have raised all working people's wages and pensions. On 1 August, the latest raise in both wages and pensions takes full effect 1 month ahead of schedule.

We have also taken a step which we think many developing countries should take: We have cancelled the program concluded with the International Monetary Fund which had asked us to apply some of its "recipes" that have proved disastrous for everybody. Initially, we had agreed on that program which presupposed inflation, devaluation of the national currency, lowering of living standards and other well-known measures. But, within several months, we unilaterally cancelled that agreement and we were right to do it. We have taken steps suiting Romania's situation. Among them, instead of increasing interest rates, we have cut them two or three times over this interval. We have also taken measures to diminish production expenditures, improve profitability and labor productivity. In the last 5 years, no rise in prices, either generally or of consumer goods, has taken place in Romania.

The major economic option for the future:

What do we intend to do now? We have great economic and social growth programs for the future. We shall keep developing intensively industry, agriculture, science, education and culture and improving living standards. Specifically, we shall allot, annually, 320-330 billion lei—which means 30-35 billion dollars—to development. Hence, no slowdown. On the contrary, we want to step up the general development programs and all this . I repeat it—by relying on the latest gains of science and technology in all fields. We are convinced that science, modern technologies are the only means of securing general development.

We do not intend—and we have passed a law on this—to resort to any credit. We want to develop our country with our own forces. However, we are willing to take an active part in international economic exchanges, in cooperation in production, and to engage in a broad collaboration, especially with the developing countries, and even to grant credits for socioeconomic development.

Answering a question referring to statements made in the West about a personality cult in Romania, President Ceausescu said:

I believe that the very notion of personality cult ought to be discussed first. But there is no time for that now.

What can be said is that personalities, one party or another may enjoy sympathy or support when identifying their activity with the cause of the working people, of their people. And this is not a bad thing. When they break with the people, with the many, then yes, they do not enjoy the sympathy and support of the masses.

Why does the people agree with the policy promoted by the Romanian Communist Party and, implicitly, by the party general secretary? Because it has eradicated Romania's backwardness and has taken this country to its current standing. If this is a personality cult, then I should like all the poorly-developed countries to have such parties and personalities capable to ensure a rise in the standard of living of their people.

On human rights:

This is a question to which Romania attaches particular attention. This country is one of the countries which played an active part in organizing the Helsinki Conference. I am one of the few presidents in office to have signed the Helsinki Final Act. At the time I even made a statement regarding the importance of those documents and of the human rights question.

Of course, the human rights issue is very vast. There is a UN document, "The Covenants on Human Rights," in force since 1954, which the United States has not signed so far, because at the time it did not find its provisions acceptable, nor does it probable find them so now. With this I wish to stress that there are very different interpretations of the notion of "human rights."

I know that some people accuse Romania of failing to apply in this respect everything that has recently been established in Vienna. But Romania opposed some proposals made by Western countries, which we also publicly characterised to be a return to the Middle Ages. We asked in exchange that the fundamental human rights be written down in the respective document. But, unfortunately, only a couple of unclear, non-committing phrases were included.

Among human rights, we give pride of place to the right to a free and independent life. Some time ago a film was shown entitled "the right to be born," pleading for a child's chance to be born. It was an anti-abortionist film. After the right to existence, we believe that man has to have a right to work. In fact it is quite obvious that without work, people cannot even exist. And yet, the Vienna document hardly managed to carry even one sentence—unclear as it is—regarding the respective right.

What are the youths who find no job after graduation supposed to do: According to official data every year 30 to 40 percent of the youths in many countries do not have jobs. We also support the right to education. It is a well-known fact that in the West, in the United States too, the number of illiterates has started to rise, which is very serious, indeed. Also soaring is the number of the homeless, in the United States included, and this again: according to official data. The number of the poor has grown nearly 30 percent in the United States as well as in the other Western countries during this decade. All this has led to social degradation—and stemming from this are drug addiction, the crime rate and even a number of terrorist acts.

Therefore we set out from the fact that we should first deal with these human really fundamental problems.

In the West the stress falls on the right to emigration, as a priority. Personally, I have always opposed emigration. I know, I am aware of the situation in the United States, but the Romanian people has been living here for more than 2000 years and we are a people who wish to continue to be here for the next 2000 years. We do not want to go somewhere else. That is why we do not encourage emigration, yet we do not force anybody to stay, and we grant the right to family reunion. But, as I said, we encourage nobody to leave. On the contrary, we advise people to stay here, where they have working and living conditions, to build their own future here, not else where.

Of course, to make the emigration question a human rights priority illustrates a certain way of thinking, that I do not wish to label. As far as we are concerned, we are doing everything to secure jobs, houses, to offer a chance

to learn and more and more equitable incomes to people, therefore the conditions needed to live a dignified life, in step with the general development of society. That is the way we look at the human rights issue.

Conditions for active participation in political life:

I talked about our preoccupation with developing the revolutionary worker democracy. There is virtually no citizen who fails to be a member of some organization: trade unions, youth organization unions, creative artists unions—of writers, painters, musicians—scientific societies, etc. Ten years ago we founded a new organization, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, which includes people who are not members of the Communist Party, and whose present membership outstrips in number the Communist Party itself. Therefore, we have strived to offer the people opportunities to participate actively in political life. Because we actually want the working people to participate in political life. I have already said that we are amply debating our current programs with the people as a whole.

Both within the party and in our organizations anybody may come up with proposals, may express his or her view on any issues. That is why we have released to public debate our future programs in matters of foreign policy included. Anybody may come up with proposals and if better proposals emerge we shall endorse them of course, we do not accept and will never accept theses concerning a return to capitalism.

On the development of the Romania-U.S. relations:

There was indeed a time when relations between Romania and the USA were good. In 1975 an economic accord, still in force, was signed spelling out the basic principles governing the relations between our countries. That accord starts with fully equal rights, respect for independence and sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs. But in recent years it is precisely these principles that have been infringed, of course, not by Romania.

We have discussed these problems a lot, setting out from the need to give up interference in domestic affairs and to make Romania's relations conditional on certain political requests regarding this country's domestic affairs. Even messages were exchanged concerning these problems. We could no longer agree with the practice of having some problems discussed by the U.S. Congress, which fuelled systematic libeling campaigns against Romania, carried by certain ill-meaning circles. We warned about such things, but we came to a point where we could no longer go on.

We have been an independent country. We have resisted numerous pressures but above all we hold independence as the decisive factor of every people's economic and social development.

What do we think we ought to do to overcome the current situation? First, return to and observe the current accord from all the points of view, including the mutually granting of the most-favored-nation statute with no strings attached and without having the problem annually reviewed.

Of course, one should understand that Romania cannot and will not agree to promote actions of so-called destabilization with a view to weakening socialist construction and passing to certain capitalist forms. We made the revolution in Romania without anybody's permission. It is the fruit of the activity carried out by our people, by the working class, and to us socialism is not just an option for the present, but also for the future. Therefore antisocialist, destabilizing actions must be given up. This request observes also the international norms, the UN Charter included.

Of course, we favor developing the relations with the United States. These relations have been helpful to the United States, too.

Economically speaking the level of the relations is good, even without the clause, and I think that if realism is proved and we work in the spirit of the accord and of the documents regulating the relations between our countries upon the principles of equality, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage, we are able and we want to develop amply the relations between our countries.

The current international situation and the recent meetings:

We think the international situation is rather complex and serious. With the nuclear weapons the United States and the Soviet Union have, each can destroy the world several times over. Therefore, the necessary conclusions should be drawn and both the nuclear policy and nuclear weapons should be given up. We are for cuts in nuclear and chemical weapons, for their complete elimination.

There has been much talk about the accord struck between the Soviet Union and the United States on intermediate-range nuclear missiles. It was very important rather from the political point of view and as symbolic act. Because, in point of nuclear efficiency, it is a mere drop in the ocean of nuclear arms, so to say.

We state for the reduction of conventional weapons to the lowest possible level under adequate international control. Talks are under way in Vienna and we hope they will yield the best possible results.

We are for radical cuts in military spending. If all followed in Romania's footsteps—that is, spend 3 percent of the national income—I think a radical solution would indeed be reached in this respect. Which would leave enough money to solve social issues and the housing problem in each country, to secure general

progress and to assist the developing countries, and all peoples would live a better life. I know thus will take a long time but I think we ought to work along this line.

We are for the resolution of questions related to underdevelopment and to the foreign-debts issue of the developing countries by writing off and radically cutting back on those debts and by reducing interest rates rather than through formal steps, and we are for new types of interstate economic links to allow of the fast socioeconomic progress of the less developed countries. It is unacceptable that several hundred million people, among which a small number of rich, should live at the expense of more than 4 billion individuals. No matter how much we talk about human rights and about the wish to have an open world, the reality is altogether different.

As for the settlement of current issues, negotiations are necessary indeed. However, it is our view that the United States and the Soviet Union alone cannot solve all the problems. All countries should be involved in negotiations, all the more so as nuclear weapons do not pick and choose—they will destroy living conditions in all countries if resorted to.

From this point of view, the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty policies do not converge, unfortunately. A contradictory approach to issues persists. NATO had its own summit 1 and ½ months before the Warsaw Pact's, and voices were heard there suggesting that the Warsaw Pact countries proposals should be met halfway with a view to solving a number of problems. But these proposals were overshadowed by statements on updating shorter-range and tactical missiles, which means boosting their destructive power 4 times, that is several times more than the reduction of intermediate-range nuclear weapons accounted for. Which means increasing the nuclear arsenal rather than scrapping it. And all this happens in Europe. That is why all European countries are directly interested in removing these weapons from our continent.

The fact is noteworthy that the policy of "nuclear deterrence" was reiterated as a long-term target of NATO policy with a view to accounting for the modernization drive. And if nuclear deterrence remains part of NATO policy, then how could one talk about disarmament? Therefore, for all their positive aspects, the results of the NATO summits cannot be hailed. It is false, an utter mistake to state that nuclear weapons have ensured peace so far. They have not. That nuclear weapons were not used in war is the result of the peoples' struggle, of the strong public-opinion trend in favor of disarmament and peace in both the United States and the Soviet Union, in both socialist and Western countries—throughout the world, that is—of the scientists' vigorous stance to prove that a nuclear war would be tantamount to everyone's disappearance. Scientists, the masses of people, the workers, the farmers and the intellectuals, the peoples play the leading part in changing both NATO and Warsaw Pact strategies. They may talk the two into adopting a disarmament, peace and cooperation policy to provide for all nations' socioeconomic progress.

We think the documents of the Warsaw Treaty socialist countries summit, held in Bucharest early in July, are better than the NATO's. They are statements of intent, of course, and palpable steps have not been taken yet, but the proposals and targets set forth by the Warsaw Treaty are conducive to the scrapping of nuclear weapons, to the renunciation of the policy of force and of the policy of nuclear deterrence, to a policy of development which meets the interests of all peoples.

We believe we should strive for the two military blocs to follow that road in earnest, to come to a new way of thinking, to a new-type economic policy. Because it is not enough if they say they want that.

As a matter of fact, the recent Paris summit of the Seven did not yield better results either. Undoubtedly, they could not have taken adequate measures. The Seven intend to fulfill tasks that are beyond their powers because they—whatever these countries may be—they cannot solve the issues challenging mankind. Unfortunately, not even the natural expectations of people—some of whom went to Paris—were not met. There was no answer to the developing countries' foreign-debt problem, to underdevelopment-related issues. Pledges were once again taken to support destabilization in socialist countries. The policy of "nuclear deterrence" was once again stated... To say that a like meeting may be taken as something positive is rather difficult.

As far as we are concerned, we expect another outlook. A broad international meeting on underdevelopment-related questions, rather than a meeting of several countries, is needed. A meeting which should be attended by both developing and rich countries, and really approach the existing issues. In fact, another outlook is needed, on all the issues of concern to mankind today, including humanitarian questions, and on the serious social problems. Naturally, the issues of disarmament and peace stay in the forefront. And we think that all countries can and must commit themselves more firmly to that line and we believe that the peoples—including all social segments—can and must bring a change for the better, in the world situation, secure the independence and sovereignty of all states, the progress and peace of all nations.

In concluding, the interview, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed a warm, friendly salute and the best wishes to NEWSWEEK's readers.

Ceausescu, Elena Visit Bucharest Units

AU1708185989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/8/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit in Bucharest City on Thursday, August 17, when they opened a new underground mainline.

The visit started on the construction site of a monumental public edifice of all-country importance which is to be the headquarters of the National History Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania, where the stage of construction operations was examined. Located at the crossroads of Calea Plevnei and Splaiul Independentei, two large thoroughfares, the new museum which boasts social and political significance and outstanding architectural features, rounds off the urban heritage of the Romanian capital city. The monumental edifice, which extends on more than 150,000 sq m, will include 22 large halls of 1,000 sq m. Each, which will provide adequate conditions for the display of items in the national heritage. The museum will be equipped with special laboratories and workshops for the preservation and restoration of its exhibits. The facade will boast a balcony with amphitheatre-like steps, which will make the official dais for the great demonstrations staged by the working people in the Romanian capital city to mark political events of major significance in the life of the country. Continuing the visit, the president opened the third Bucharest underground mainline, in between the Gara de Nord and the Dristor II stops, which crosses Bucharest from the north to the south.

At the Gara de Nord underground stop, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were informed that the pledge the construction workers had taken, namely to complete operations so that on the 45th anniversary of August 23, 1944 the first trains may drive along the third mainline, had been fulfilled 75 days ahead of schedule. The new mainline added to the total length of the capital's underground network, which now stands at 60 kms of double track and boasts 38 stops. In this way, the target set by the Thirteenth Congress of the RCP, according to which Bucharest should boast such an underground network by 1990, was fulfilled a year ahead of schedule.

This modern, fast and comfortable means of transport, which has been a presence in Bucharest's life for several years now, has been achieved according to Romanian designs and technology. Works on this highly complex project involved roughly 5,000 experts in more than 40 scientific research and technological engineering institutes, design and higher-learning institutions, adding to which were highly-skilled workers from 45 enterprises from all over the country.

With the third mainline put on stream, adding to the 800,000 passengers who travel by tube daily on an average are another over 200,000 a day on an average. An underground travel along the new, 10-km mainline takes 17 minutes. The designers and construction workers imparted to each of the six stops along the line—Victoria, Stefan cel Mare, Obor, Piata Iancului, Piata Muncii, Dristor II—a distinct personality and great elegance. The stops are all equipped with control systems that provide for safe underground traffic.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu took a ride along the new underground mainline, which opened to the public at large today. President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu boarded off the train in all the stops, where they were greeted by numerous construction workers and Bucharesters. During the visit, the RCP general secretary congratulated the construction workers and had words of appreciation for the technologies that were used, which provided for a smooth run of activities, at a fast pace, as well as for the architectural features of the stops and for the construction materials that had been used. On the occasion, the Romanian head of state requested the Romanian machine building industry to provide improved underground cars boasting superior technical and functional features.

Continuing their visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu drove along Victoria Socialismului boulevard, the most important thoroughfare of the capital city, whose construction started three years ago, with the opening of construction works on the House of the Republic. Tall apartment houses, in various construction stages, line up the boulevard. The Romanian head of state stopped in front of a store for children and youth items a construction that makes a harmonious part of the whole urban project. The new unit, which was completed three months ahead of schedule, extends on roughly 30 thousand sq m.

Also visited was the construction site of the National Library in the immediate vicinity. Together with experts, aspects were analysed related to the building of that edifice where construction operations have entered an advanced stage.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu also saw round the "Unirea" department store. New wings were added to this complex this country's largest which put its shopping area at roughly 65 thousand sq m., that is, a three-time growth of its capacity. The units that were visited, which boast a modern design, meet the requirements for the development of the commercial network.

Ceausescu Gives Interview to Mexican Paper

AU1608190689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/8/1989—On Wednesday, August 16, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received in Snagov Carlos Estrada Lang, editor-in-chief of the Mexican newspaper "OVACIONES."

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu granted an interview to the "OVACIONES" newspaper.

Ceausescu Gives Interview to Yugoslav Magazine

AU1708190389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 17/8/1989—On Thursday, August 17, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received at Snagov Miroslav Lazanski, special envoy of the magazine "DANAS" of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu granted an interview to "DANAS."

Andrei Receives British Aviation Official

AU1608193689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/8/1989—On 16 August, Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei received the British Aerospace delegation led by Robert McKinley, general manager at the Civil Aviation Department.

During the interview questions were approached related to the development of bilateral cooperation in aviation.

The talks were attended by Eugeniu Radulescu, minister of machine building industry.

Agriculture Council Plenum Report Issued

AU1608134489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Aug 89 p 2

["Report on the Main Conclusions of the Activity of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management in the First 7 Months of 1989; on Production and Financial Results; and on Measures To Be Taken by the National Council, Ministries, Relevant County Bodies, and Agricultural Units, on the Basis of Guidelines and Recommendations by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Party and President of the Republic, in Order to Commendably Fulfill Tasks Arising From the 1989 State Plan and the Special Program for the Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management—Abridged Text"—discussed as the first point on the agenda of the 10-11 August Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management in Bucharest]

[Text] The plenary session of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management is taking place on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the glorious antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation that paved the way for a new era in the multimillenia history of the Romanian people, and in an atmosphere of fervent patriotism and vigorous creative emulation in which the whole nation is discussing the Draft Program-Directives on Romania's Socioeconomic Development in the 1991-95 5-Year Plan, the long-term guidelines up to the year 2000-10, and the Theses of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

The National Council, a broad and representative democratic forum of the peasantry and all working people in agriculture, food industry, contracting and purchasing of agricultural produce, forestry, and water administration express, with feelings of great love and patriotic pride and together with all people, full adherence to the resolution of the RCP Central Committee plenum on the proposal of reelecting Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the supreme position of RCP secretary general at the 14th RCP Congress. This is an event of particular political significance that clearly demonstrates the feelings of profound esteem and gratitude harbored by the Communists and all working people in our country toward Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, hero among the heroes of our nation, excellent communist militant and enthusiastic patriot, outstanding revolutionary thinker, ingenious forger of Romania's new destiny and of the brightest era in our homeland's history, and prominent figure of the international arena.

In adopting this historic resolution, welcomed by the entire party and people with intense satisfaction and joy, and with unanimous and enthusiastic approval, the RCP Central Committee plenum expresses great appreciation for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's heroic and long-standing revolutionary activity, which for almost 60 years has been dedicated to the well-being and happiness of the Romanian nation; to the noble cause of our homeland's independence, freedom, and progress; to the construction of socialism and communism on Romanian soil; and to establishing an atmosphere of peace, understanding, and broad cooperation in the world. At the same time, this also constitutes a unanimous recognition of the decisive role played by the party secretary general in the progress of the tremendous renewing and revolutionary process which our society went through in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress that opened up new and broad horizons for the construction of the new system, and an event that heralded the period of the most excellent socialist accomplishments, which, with legitimate patriotic pride, is called the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" in honor of its great founder. This resolution also expressed the firm confidence of the entire nation that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the helm of the party guarantees the successful construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and our homeland's firm advancement toward the bright heights of communism.

The plenary session expresses the greatest sentiments of appreciation and respect for Comrade Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of the party and state, eminent politician, and scientist of world reputation, for her

noteworthy contribution to formulating and implementing the great goals aimed at our country's socioeconomic development, to the vigorous assertion and constant progress of Romanian science, education, and culture, and to the progress of our socialist homeland in general.

The report then continues:

This year marked the 40th anniversary of the historic party Central Committee plenum of 3-5 March 1949 that decided to organize the state sector in agriculture and to start the cooperativization of agriculture. This marked the beginning of a new stage in implementing the agrarian revolution, an event of tremendous importance for our country's socialist development.

Similarly, 27 years have elapsed since the party Central Committee plenum of April 1962 that confirmed the conclusion of the cooperativization of agriculture, a revolutionary event of the greatest importance for the constant upsurge of this branch of the national economy, thus marking the victory of socialism in all fields of activity.

We want to emphasize with satisfaction and recognition that the unprecedented results in increasing agricultural yields in the period following the Ninth RCP Congress, especially in 1989, have been achieved on the basis of the strategic concept of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the development and modernization of agriculture, which was excellently outlined in the basic guidelines of this important branch of the national economy aimed at implementing the new agrarian revolution. The concept of the new agrarian revolution which was formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the spirit of dialectical and historic materialism and on the basis profound knowledge of the specific conditions in our country is part and parcel of the original and revolutionary vision of our party and state leader on the decisive factors for the progress of the Romanian society. It is a comprehensive concept that involves both the forces of production, social and production relations, the improvement of the organizational framework and management of agriculture, and revolutionizing the whole way of thinking and acting of those working in this area. In accordance with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, science is an important production force in agriculture as well. Working in this sense, scientific research has created highly productive strains and hybrids, and has worked out intensive technologies which are on a par or even exceed the best such achievements at the world level.

The results achieved both throughout agriculture and especially in front-ranking units are the fruit of the unswerving application of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations on improving the organizational framework of agriculture, self-management and self-administration, and the affirmation of the new, revolutionary spirit of the peasantry and of all working people in agriculture as owners, producers, and end users.

Taking stock of all the great results achieved in agriculture this year, the report continues: As the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, emphasized in his speech to the large mass rally in Constanta Municipality, "Throughout the country we have achieved the best ever yields of wheat and barley—yields that demonstrate the potential and capability of the working people in agriculture and of cooperative farmers, and it also demonstrates the superiority of state and cooperative ownership, which has created conditions for achieving yields that seemed impossible only 10-15 years ago. This is what socialism means: the concerted activity of the peasantry and of the working people in agriculture." This assessment by the party secretary general constitutes for all those active in agriculture an impetus to work in order to achieve increasingly better results.

On the basis of the analysis of results achieved so far with grains and other crops, we report to the plenary session that this year, which marks various anniversaries, outputs match the requirements of the new agrarian revolution. Average yields per hectare are 8,184 kg of wheat and 7,360 kg of barley, which are the largest yields ever in the history of Romanian agriculture.

In the case of fall wheat, state agricultural enterprises have reported average yields of 8,533 kg per hectare, while agricultural production cooperatives have reported yields of 8,113 kg per hectare; all counties where wheat is cultivated have reported yields of more than 8,000 kg per hectare, with Braila County ranking first with an average output of 9,110 per hectare. The largest yields of 12,683 kg per hectare have been achieved by the agricultural production cooperative of Scornicesti, Olt County, followed by the Ogoru and Avintul agricultural production cooperatives in the Pecica Commune, Arad County, which achieved 12,182 kg per hectare and 12,060 kg per hectare respectively. Six units have achieved average yields in excess of 11,000 kg per hectare; 26 units have also achieved more than 10,000 and 11,000 kg per hectare, while 345 units have achieved from 8,000-9,000 kg per hectare.

In the case of barley, state agricultural enterprises have reported an average output of 7,658 kg per hectare, while agricultural production cooperatives have achieved yields of 7,103 kg per hectare; all counties have reported yields in excess of 7,000 kg per hectare. Five hundred thirty-two units have achieved average outputs in excess of 8,000 kg per hectare, of which 489 units from 8,000-9,000 kg per hectare, 37 units from 9,000-10,000 kg per hectare, and six units have achieved more than 10,000 kg per hectare. Among them the agricultural cooperatives of Scornicesti, Olt County, with 11,128 kg per hectare;

Topolovatu Mare, Timis County, with 11,120 kg per hectare; and Motatei, Dolj County, with 11,052 kg per hectare are the more conspicuous ones.

In peas, the average output reported was 4,284 kg per hectare; state agricultural enterprises reported 4,381 kg per hectare, while agricultural production cooperatives reported 4,244 kg per hectare; thus all counties achieved in excess of 4,000 kg per hectare.

In rape for oil, the average output reported was 3,213 kg per hectare, of which 3,282 kg per hectare was in state agricultural enterprises and 3,100 kg per hectare was in the cooperative sector.

Positive results have also been reported in oats—4,577 kg per hectare, flax for oil—2,649 kg per hectare, flax bundles—7,172 kg per hectare, and navy beans—4,609 kg per hectare.

Larger outputs than planned have been achieved so far in vegetables, fruits, and early and summer potatoes, thus creating conditions for securing deliveries to the state stocks and better supplies for the people and processing industry. Compared with the same period last year, 68 percent more vegetables, 141 percent more early and summer potatoes, and 80 percent more fruits have been delivered.

The results achieved are due to the application of new technologies, which are better adjusted to the specific conditions of each area and agricultural unit, and due to the large-scale introduction of technical progress and of the most modern achievements of science and technology. Highly productive strains, resistant to diseases and pests, are broadly cultivated, and the crop rotation system was strictly observed in the cultivation of crops. The measures aimed at increasing the yield potential of land have been applied consistently, and greater attention has been paid to preparing hotbeds, to performing sowing operations during optimum times, and to using quality seeds characterized by good germination. This year's harvesting campaign has been better organized and thus crops were harvested in a shorter time than in former years.

The results achieved and the experience gained by front-ranking units, which should be given general application, demonstrate that all counties are able to achieve large and economically efficient yields if intensive technologies are judiciously applied and if work is organized and performed with a great sense of responsibility and discipline. Delivery, storage, and preservation of this year's large agricultural produce under the best of conditions—the report emphasizes—constitutes a task of great responsibility and patriotic duty.

Proceeding from results achieved and from the particular tasks resting on agriculture in the current stage and in the future, the plenary session is called upon to examine, in the spirit of the guidelines and recommendations made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the results achieved, and to establish measures to commendably fulfill the plan and special programs, so that we will welcome the 14th RCP Congress with the largest agricultural yields in our country's history by fulfilling and overfulfilling all plan indicators.

At the same time, the plenary session is to adopt measures designed to constantly improve the work style and methods of the working people's councils, so that these collective management bodies will better fulfill their tasks and so that they make their full contribution to the clarification and solution of all problems regarding plan provisions, to the consistent application of the principles of self-management and self-administration, and to strengthening and protecting socialist ownership, a vital requirement of our homeland's development.

In light of the targets and strategic guidelines included in the Draft Program-Directives and in the Theses of the 14th RCP Congress, ways and means will be established whereby agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water administration—sectors of particular importance for the national economy—are able to increase their contribution—in the next 5-year plan and in the future—to improving the standard of living of our people and to the progress of our society in general.

The report emphasizes that the large outputs achieved compel us to work better and to resolutely start eliminating shortfalls that still exist. Within this framework the report emphasizes the need for the Ministry of Agriculture, county agricultural bodies, and state and cooperative agricultural units to work with determination to completely implement program provisions aimed at improving soil fertility, irrigation and drainage operations; at preventing and combating soil erosion, soil acidity and saltness; and at judiciously making use of fertilizers, increasing tillable areas; and at better capitalizing on the land stocks. Special attention has to be paid to the effective production and employment of quality seeds, to carrying out all agricultural operations on schedule and of good quality, to observing the legal density of plants, and to achieving large yields with all crops—grains, industrial plants, vegetables, fruits, and so forth—in keeping with facilities and the requirements of the new agrarian revolution.

The report then emphasizes that better results were achieved in livestock breeding in 1989 than in past years and that a number of units have achieved noteworthy results. Despite all this, results are not up to our potential and the plan provisions because of shortfalls in the work organization, in fodder supplies, and in tending and sheltering animals. Bearing this situation in mind, all necessary measures have to be taken to radically improve activities in this area; to strengthen order, discipline, and the sense of responsibility in order to ensure the necessary fodder base, increase livestock and animal products in keeping with the provisions of the

special program formulated and submitted to the plenary session for approval, so that animal breeding—an important sector of agriculture—may make an ever greater contribution to securing proper supplies for the people and to meeting other requirements of the national economy.

The report also deals with problems pertaining to economic efficiency by stressing that an important number of state and cooperative agricultural units have concluded their activity in the first half year with favorable results and have achieved profits. Nevertheless, the economic-financial situation of certain agricultural units continues to be inappropriate, thus affecting the achievement of a financial balance and the ensurance of the necessary funds for the production process. Very determined action has to be taken in the spirit of established measures to ensure the strict observance of party decisions and of the country's laws on the granting of credits and advance payments in order to eliminate negative situations and improve all activities, ensure a constant, firm, and exacting financial control, strengthen order and discipline in using the material and financial means available to cooperative units, and in order to protect and develop cooperative ownership and public wealth with a view to increasing the economic efficiency, so that in agriculture there is no unit working with losses or unprofitable products.

The report then presents areas of action to ensure the proper progress of operations planned for the coming period. In this sense, it stresses that on the basis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations, a "program of measures on the preparation and progress of the harvesting of fall crops and on storing outputs" has been worked out as has a "program on grain sowing and on tilling fall fields," which include measures regarding harvesting crops on schedule and without losses, the transportation, delivery, and appropriate storing of crops, and regarding the sowing of fall and spring crops during the best period while respecting legal provisions on seeds, density of plants, and the flawless preparation of hotbeds. Special attention will be paid to sowing all those areas stipulated in the 1990 plan. These measures aim at ensuring the necessary conditions for reaping the highest possible yields with all crops in accordance with the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

At the same time, the contracting and purchasing of agricultural produce from people's private farms, including from people in hilly and mountainous areas, has to be intensified to increase the contribution of those farms to the centralized state stocks.

In the food industry, where some positive results have been achieved in the fulfillment of plan tasks, action has to be taken to diversify and renew the production process, perfect the organization and modernization of technological processes, improve product quality, increase labor productivity, and fulfill the economic-financial efficiency indicators. We must continue to focus on reducing production costs and material expenditure by strictly observing approved norms.

In forestry, action is being taken to ensure an intensive management of the wood stock and mountainous pastures in the spirit of provisions stipulated in the national program for this area.

Primary attention is being paid to the judicious use of all water resources, eliminating losses and waste, to exploiting and capitalizing on waters in accordance with norms and laws in force, and to the responsible utilization and administration of water as part and parcel of the national wealth and as a vital asset of the whole nation, as well as to the protection of the environment.

The report also outlines the development prospects for agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water administration in 1990 and in years to come. It is assessed that, through its provisions, next year's plan ensures a high rate of increasing outputs in all these branches and sectors of the national economy.

Starting from the achievements of historic significance in the development of agriculture during the years of socialist construction and particularly in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, as well as from the results achieved in the current 5-year plan, the Draft Program-Directives of the 14th RCP Congress stipulate the further intensive development and modernization of agriculture and an accelerated increase in vegetable and animal produce by making better use of all tillable land, by broadly applying the results of scientific research, perfecting the planning, organization, and management of all activities, increasing productivity and economic efficiency, improving the standard of living, and raising the quality of life for the working people in villages.

The development of agriculture in the next 5-year plan and in the future is characterized—like the national economy on the whole—by the accentuation of the intensive and qualitative factors, a decisive condition for increasing the contribution of this branch to our country's transition to a new and higher stage of development.

The programmatic documents of the 14th RCP Congress stipulate a balanced and concerted development of the forces of production throughout the country and the implementation of the programs for territorial systematization, for the organization of towns and communes, and for the modernization of all localities. Through the fulfillment of these targets, our country's entire image will change and the living and working conditions in villages will come closer to those in towns.

In conclusion, the report expresses the commitment of all working people in agriculture and the other areas to work to commendably fulfill the targets aimed at our

homeland's many-sided development, to fulfill the important tasks put forward for 1990 and the future, and to constantly strengthen state and cooperative ownership, the secure foundation for the constant progress of agriculture and all branches of the national economy, for increasing the country's wealth, and improving our people's well-being, a fact that has fully been proved by what Romania has achieved in such a short time at all levels of the economic and social activity in the years of socialist construction, and especially during the bright era opened by the Ninth RCP Congress. The report expresses the firm determination to welcome the glorious anniversary of 23 August and the 14th RCP Congress—the congress of great socialist victories, of the fully devoted work of the whole nation, and of our dear homeland's genuine sovereignty and complete independence—with the best of results in all areas.

Plenum Speeches

AU1708181989

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 12 August on pages 4, 5, 6, and 7 carries 47 reports ranging between 250 and 500 words on speeches made by various participants in the enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management, in Bucharest on 12 August. All the speeches, which total about 20,000 words, deal in general terms with various facets of agricultural activity, with particular emphasis on Nicolae Ceausescu's, and occasionally Elena Ceausescu's, "great role in fashioning Romania's overall domestic and foreign policy."

Most speakers talk about achievements and concerns in their particular spheres, admit the existence of failures, and pledge to work better and harder in the future to "increase production levels" both in vegetable growing and animal breeding, "in accordance with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations."

Among the more noteworthy officials whose speeches are reported by the daily—none of whom is a full or candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party—are: Paula Prioteasa, minister of food industry; Neculai Mantz, deputy minister of agriculture; Ioan Oancea, deputy minister of Contracting and Acquisition of Agricultural Products; Alexandrina Gainuse, first secretary of Ialomita County RCP Committee; Andrei Sorcoiu, first secretary of Bihor County RCP Committee; and Ioan Pavel, first secretary of Vaslui County RCP Committee. All of them give a positive assessment of the "Report on the Main Conclusions of the Activity of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management in the First 7 Month of 1989," the main item on the agenda of the meeting, pledge to "organize production and labor" in such a way as to "improve the management of agriculture," and fully endorse the proposal that Nicolae Ceausescu "be reelected at the 14th RCP Congress to the supreme position as party secretary general."

Polish Leaders Respond to Ceausescu Cable

AU1608143389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Aug 89 p 5

[Cable from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu expressing thanks for the greetings on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Poland's Rebirth]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Comrades: We want to express cordial thanks to the RCP Central Committee, State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to you personally for the wishes extended on the 45th anniversary of Poland's Rebirth.

We fully share your conviction that the development of relations of friendship and many-sided cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania is in keeping with the vital interests of our peoples, strengthens the forces of socialism and progress, and serves the work of detente and peaceful cooperation in the international arena.

We want to take this opportunity to convey friendly greetings to you, dear comrades, and to the whole Romanian people, together with wishes for success in fulfilling the plans for the further development of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party

Iranian Official Interviewed on Nonaligned Draft

LD1708164489 Tehran IRNA in English 1620 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 17, IRNA—Draft documents proposed by Yugoslavia on the Iraq-Iran war for discussion in the forthcoming summit of the non-aligned countries here contain "some technical problems" said Iranian deputy foreign minister for international affairs.

Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani said in an IRNA interview Thursday: "We have explained these problems to the Yugoslav side and they have accepted our feelings," said Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani. Yugoslavia had received many proposals for changes to the draft documents from other countries, he said, and is at present preparing a revised version, he said.

Lavasani arrived in Belgrade Wednesday and has met Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar and other Foreign Ministry officials. He left for Havana on Thursday.

In an interview with IRNA before departure he reiterated Iran's opinion that U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 should be fully implemented. "The enemy is trying to change the order of the articles in the resolution, which will only serve to make it useless," he said.

Lavasani called a recent statement by Iraq that it was ready to sign a peace treaty with Iran, "a propaganda ploy, aimed at deviating from the correct path." Resolution 598 and the Iran-Iraq agreement of 1975 provide the proper basis for reaching a just and comprehensive peace between the two countries, he said.

Referring to rumours that Iraq was considering its candidacy to host the next non-aligned summit, the deputy minister pointed out that occupying another country's territory violated the movement' principles. He said Iraq a year since the ceasefire, was still occupying part of Iranian territory and was thus unworthy of hosting any international summit. "All non-aligned countries are in agreement on this," he said.

As far as changing the methology of the movement, Lavasani said: "We should insist on the principles of the movement and stick to them".

The Yugoslav initiative to abbreviate summit documents had met with overall approval, Lavasani said, "but we should not harm the criteria, mottos and historic background of the movement."

On the downing of an Iranian civilian aircraft by the U.S. Navy in July last year, the forthcoming summit maintains a position on this act to show that the movement respects its own just positions, said Lavasani.

The deputy minister said he had very detailed discussions with his Yugoslav hosts on the propaganda invasion of Western culture against the criteria and values of the Third World. What had been passed at the meeting of the information ministers of the non-aligned in Harare showd a common awareness of member countries of this fact.

Lavasani and his delegation left Belgrade on Thursday for Havana.

Presidency Member Speaks at Sinj Tournament

AU1708130789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 89 p 4

[Z. Krzelj report: "One Does Not Draft the Constitution by Shouting"]

[Text] Split, 6 Aug—The battle symbolized by the Sinj Tournament is one in the series of many battles our peoples and nationalities have waged for their land, for peaceful life and civilizational progress, Stipe Suvar, delegate of the SFRY Presidency, said upon presenting the winner of the 274th Sinj Tournament with the big perpetual silver shield that Marshal Tito gave the tournament participants 30 years ago.

When mentioning Marshal Tito, Dr Suvar recalled how attached he was to the Sinj Tournament. Whenever we recall famous events and great people from our past, it is only appropriate to mention Tito first, Suvar went on to say. Unfortunately, many people who are unscrupulously attacking all achievements of our National Liberation Struggle, of socialism, and of our country today want even to stigmatize Tito or relegate him to oblivion. They are even replacing his pictures with the ones of some newfangled national leaders. However, anti-Titoists are very much wrong if they think that their scenarios will ever be accepted by the young generations and the masses. The most important obstacle to their intentions is what our peoples and nationalities remember of what Tito and the revolution used to mean and what they still mean.

Let Us Stop With the Tricks

What Tito used to mean and still means is known best to our veterans who have recently shown this by opposing anti-Titoist doings and some plans for changes. Their reactions were identical everywhere—in Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, Serbia, and Montenegro. This is fully understandable, because veterans remember Chetnik treason, Ustasha crimes, White Guards' atrocities, and Ballists' stabs in the back only too well, they know who is who and what is what, they can very well recognize what is hidden behind national songs about national harmony and reconciliation.

When mentioning all this, I am not disregarding the fact that Tito and the generations of revolutionaries led by him did make some mistakes and that many problems

that are troubling us today have been inherited from their times. However, it is for that reason that today's and tomorrow's generations are expected to maintain the continuity of the revolution and, in that name, to come to grips with everything that has shown to be its bad side and to be one of the causes or relations that have led to the stagnation and even regression of socialism in our country. There are many things that we must change in our country in this respect. We also have to stop all these tricks and games that we have been using to escape from real changes and great challenges.

We also have to accelerate our work on the new constitution, Dr Stipe Suvar went on to say. We have to do all this while respecting democracy and equality. Nobody will impose the constitution on us from above and nobody will dictate his views and special interests that are not recognized to be the legitimate interests of all.

We can ensure our future place in the world and, above all, in Europe, by developing two basic values in Yugoslavia: socialism and federalism. After all, socialist and federalist forces in Europe today are the champions not only of the idea and practice of European associations but also of the reforms of the world market and world relations that are not based on somebody's domination, monopoly, and dictate. Yugoslav reforms can succeed only if modern socialism and modern federalism are combined together within the system of pluralist democracy in which integration will be created through decentralized initiatives and free economic factors in a unified market. In this way, we shall also join the true leftist social and political trends in Europe, from the Ural to the Atlantic.

Therefore, the new Yugoslav constitution should not be a centralist and unitarist constitution, but must ensure rational and efficient functioning of the Yugoslav Federation. Neither should it be a rearranged statist constitution. It should not open space for the return to some old, pre-socialist solutions or some new formulas and agreements resembling the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It should not offer a kind of unity, even a modified one, that would be guaranteed by a transformed monarch or a leader.

Dangerous Manipulations With Millions

In short, the new constitution must express the interests of the majority within all our peoples, if all our republics agree upon this. It will have to be so even if some people think that they can impose majoritarian ideas through noise, pressure, and even threats, while reckoning with the incapability, lack of initiative, and even possible cowardice of others.

Only the implementation of the economic and political reform can ensure an improvement of interethnic relations in our country which are today, more than ever before, threatened by raging nationalism, the ideology of the bureaucracy and other groups of the social elite which have been inflaming the euphoria of national states of all sizes, and doing so to the detriment of Yugoslavia as our joint state and fraternal community.

It is not true that the national question of any one of our peoples is unsolved or needs to be solved. It is also not true that the policy carried out in Tito's time sought to make any one of our republics weak, allegedly in order to make Yugoslavia strong. Those people who pronounce or support such assertions have resorted not only to big myths but also to dangerous manipulations of millions of people and entire nations. Our every republic must be strong and stable so that Yugoslavia can be strong and stable. It is no longer possible, even if it had been possible in the past, to call into question the self-identity of the Muslims, Montenegrins, Macedonians, just as our Albanians, Hungarians, as well as members of our other nationalities cannot be returned to any kind of national ghettos.

Yugoslavia should become more integrated and function as a modern federation. The main condition for this is to create a social system in which free business operations will be conducted in a unified market, macroeconomic functions of the federation will be ensured, and the political and cultural equality of peoples and nationalities will be guaranteed. This is the way to strip national bureaucracies of their power and to finally curb nationalism. It will then be easier to overcome Albanian nationalism in Kosovo which is threatening Yugoslavia's integrity, and Kosovo itself will be able to successfully develop again within the borders of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Just as one people cannot have more or fewer rights within Yugoslavia, no people can have more or fewer rights within any of our republics. While speaking here today, I am obliged to apply this to the Socialist Republic of Croatia too. We have to use all our forces in order to resolutely curb new attacks by Croat nationalists against Serbs in Croatia. These attacks were even manifested in the Croatian Assembly during the debate on the amendments to the republican Constitution. There have even been nationalist excesses in some villages in our Dalmatia, in which ideas and practice of brotherhood and unity are deeply rooted and in which people care very much about the freedom and equality of the Croatian people and all Yugoslav people, and particularly about the brotherhood and unity of Croats and Serbs in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Let us not allow groups of chauvinists to defile people's feelings and behavior, in Dalmatia in particular. We should energetically oppose outbursts of Serbian nationalism, particularly when Serb nationalists come from outside with a patronizing attitude, and spread small and big groups of agents provocateurs with a view to undermining the brotherhood and unity of Serbs and Croats in the Knin Region and Croats and Serbs in Dalmatia, or elsewhere in Croatia, Dr Stipe Suvar, delegate of the SFRY Presidency, said at the 274th Sinj Tournament.

[The following two passages appear in bold print within the body of the item]

Reforms Take Care of the Credit

The results of meetings and various mass demonstrations cannot replace the results of work. Vociferous proclamations and promises of spectacular changes only if this or that leadership is supported and other ones overthrown, cannot really replace the short-term and long-term policy of social reforms. If the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is not capable of leading all reformist forces, it will use up the whole of the credit the workers class had granted it.

The Rule of One Nation Is the Wrong Card

Even 10 years after his death, Tito is uniting us more than any of our temporary national rulers, who are playing the card of "mass movements" and various kinds of national homogenization and conflicts with other nations, are capable of. Tito will remain a symbol of the kind of Yugoslavia which is only possible both now and in the future: a socialist and federal community, a country of socialist self-management, independent and nonaligned.

KOMUNIST on Suvar

AU1708135189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 89 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Pictures Talk"]

[Text] "No one has the right, and especially not a member of the SFRY Presidency, to insult a people, in this case the Serbian people, because it supposedly holds meetings and lines up behind self-declared national leaders and wants to push other peoples and nationalities into ghettos and reshape our common state," writes Momir Brkic, chief editor of the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST. "The time has passed when individuals impudently attacked the Serbian people and its dignity," writes Brkic, adding that Suvar obviously does not realize this or, more precisely, will not and cannot reconcile himself to it. The commentary stresses, among other things that "our people know very well whose picture should be carried at this time (they do not need advisers when it comes to this) and who can 'go to hell' with their politicking intrigues. The Serbian people have not taken down and do not take down pictures of Tito, the legend of our revolution, because this legend was created and perserved in Serbia too. The Serbian people, and not only them, carry and will increasingly carry pictures of only those who they are respected, in their work and public activity, the interests and will of all citizens, regardless of their national affiliation—exactly in the way that Tito worked throughout his life."

"After everything that Stipe Suvar has said and done, and not done even though his post required it, it would be difficult, or more precisely, it would be impossible to 'push' his picture into the hands of a people, and not just the Serbian people. Suvar would obviously ardently desire this. And this eats away at him so much that he makes these 'excursions,' like the one in Sinj which is not only an attack on the Serbian people and its leadership but also a direct attack on brotherhood and unity, and thereby Tito, as well. Let other responsible and more competent people assess whether a member of the SFRY Presidency should be allowed to do such a thing," it is said in the commentary in the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST.

Consultative Talks Continue With FRG in Belgrade

AU1708141089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 89 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Consultations Between SFRY and FRG"]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Aug—Consultations were held today in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs between Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Srdjan Kerim, and FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ambassador Dr Heinrich Dipmann.

Views were exchanged on North-South relations in the light of the summit of the world's most developed countries held recently in Paris and the upcoming summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

There was also discussion of the activities of the two countries in preparing for the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on international economic cooperation and development (April 1990) and the European conference on economic cooperation (March-April 1990 in Bonn).

Loncar-Singh Talks Reach 'High Level of Accord'

LD1808034489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade Aug 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Indian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh expressed in their talks this evening an extremely high level of accord on the conception and contents of the declaration of the nonaligned summit and of documents on certain political and economic questions, which Yugoslavia has prepared as the host of the summit conference of the Non-aligned Movement in September in Belgrade.

Special attention was afforded during the talks to the concluding preparations for the summit and questions of the greatest interest to the movement.

Loncar and Singh conducted an exchange of views on the focuses of crises: Kampuchea, (the Indian minister has just flown in from Paris, where he attended the international conference on that country), Lebanon and the situation in the Middle East as a whole, Afghanistan, Central America, the Iran-Iraq problem.

A complex of economic problems to be dealt with at the summit was also discussed, especially efforts to launch a true North-South dialogue, an issue re-initiated by the presidents of India, Venezuela, Senegal and Egypt at the recent celebrations in Paris of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

The bilateral links, especially economic relations, discussed included a number of concrete deals in the shipbuilding industry and projects in India in which Yugoslav firms are interested.

The Indian minister ends his visit to Yugoslavia tomorrow.

Daily Interviews Angolan Foreign Minister

AU1708123889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem Loy, Angolan minister for external relations, by TANJUG: "Ability To Adapt to Changes"—in Luanda; date not given]

[Text] Luanda, 9 Aug—Angola expects that at the forthcoming nonaligned summit, the Nonaligned Movement, which today represents an unquestionable force in international relations, will express the preoccupations of most of mankind in both the political and economic spheres, and demonstrate in practice its ability to adapt to the changes that have taken place in the world in the last few years.

This was stated by Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem Loy in an interview granted to TANJUG, commenting on the preparations of his country for the ninth summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Judging by planned attendance announced so far, the Angolan foreign minister—who led the Angolan delegation at the recently held summit of the African Unity Organization in Addis Ababa on behalf of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos—was of the opinion that the "countries of the (African) Continent will be well represented at the next summit."

In their recent bilateral contacts with the Yugoslav representatives, the Angolans confirmed that President dos Santos will represent his country at the nonaligned summit in Belgrade.

Loy stressed that the fact that the summit is to be held in Belgrade for the second time in the last 25 years is a special recognition of Yugoslavia for its contribution to the development and strengthening of the original principles of the movement "which represents an irreplaceable element in the Angolan foreign policy."

According to the Angolan foreign minister, at the forthcoming nonaligned summit "serious problems facing Africa will be the main topic in the speeches by this continent's heads of states." There is no doubt that the de-colonization of Namibia will be in the focus. "The application of UN Resolution 435 would be impossible without the full participation of nonaligned countries, in all of its stages. The successful finalization of this process will, on the other hand, facilitate the birth of another nonaligned country in Africa, Namibia, Loy said.

Peace in Southern Africa will be another major preoccupation of African countries, particularly the "frontline" ones. Despite all the obstacles, the evolution of things in Namibia indicates peace. There is no doubt that African countries are very interested in peace becoming a reality. Peace will be established in Angola, but perhaps not as quickly as originally thought, Loy said.

The achievement of peace will create conditions for the stability of the whole region, which in turn will facilitate the reactivation of its huge economic potential, Loy said. "We think that South Africa should also join in this process, but only after eradicating apartheid," Loy said.

All these political and economic elements are strong arguments for the Nonaligned Movement to continue, as part of its general efforts for its modernization and more rational work, to pay great attention to southern Africa and the continent as a whole, especially regarding foreign debts which are the common preoccupation of all developing countries. This was stated by Angolan Foreign Minister Van-Dunem Loy in his interview with TANJUG.

DELO Comments on Policy of Holding Meetings

AU1708155089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Aug 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Joze Volfand: "Games That Have Long Ceased To Be Games"]

[Text] Meetings in Yugoslavia are not just a fad, nor are they a political sport, either. The fact that the continuity of meetings has been interrupted for a short time is only a part of life, and we will experience these meetings for some time to come. Further meetings will only strengthen the political appraisal that in our ramshackle state everybody must take into account meetings as part of a serious political game. It is a game that has long ceased to be merely a game, for the consequences of these scenarios are worse than those of the most dramatic plays on a stage.

This is precisely the reason that meetings are a handy political tool, regardless of the true motive of the organizers: for instance, those who organized a protest by irate citizens before the communal assembly in Nevesinje in Montenegro [as published; Nevesinje is in Bosnia-Hercegovina] or those who gathered in Stara Pazova. On Sunday [13 August], there will be a meeting in Knezina,

Bosnia-Hercegovina, and farmers are announcing a Yugoslav antigovernment rally in Belgrade at the end of August.... All of this shows that the expected, hot political autumn will begin early. It is true that the political vocabulary of the meetings is more and more varied every day. Antibureaucratic meetings are coupled with meetings on the anniversary of the Kosovo battle and on the opening of new churches (recently in Knin in Croatia and now in Knezina in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to which a delegation of the 16th local community of Kosovo Polje is going; the delegation has already made it known that if anybody tries to prevent them from displaying Serbian flags and pictures of Slobodan Milosevic, he will get his comeuppance), as well as by social and occupational meetings and the like.

It appears that people in some places in Yugoslavia are still convinced that the time for saying good-bye to the policy of meetings has not come yet. If they think that with meetings one can live better and more easily, and one can march more easily out of the crisis, let them organize meetings, but they should do that in their own community and for their own use. They should harbor no intention to export them to other parts of the country.

Nevesinje Body on 'Danger of National Divisions'

AU1708210789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] In an atmosphere affected by the latest protest meetings held by citizens and by the resignations of the entire communal leadership, the leaders of the communal organizations of the League of Communists and the Social Alliance of Nevesinje have held their sessions. A warning about the danger of national divisions was voiced at these meetings, the first meeting of the legal bodies of the Nevesinje Commune held in 10 days.

It was assessed that an analysis of the protest meetings which brought about the uninstitutional change of a large number of communal leaders must start from the fact that all bodies and individuals must be held responsible for the justifiable discontent of all Nevesinje citizens with the general situation in the town.

An expanded session of the Socialist Alliance Branch of the Pridvorci local community is being held this evening and the session is discussing demands and assessments voiced by the inhabitants of the Hrusta Village, who are mostly Muslim nationals and who opposed the uninstitutional replacement of the leaders.

Niksic Protest Meeting Planned for 20 Aug

AU1708141289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 89 p 7

[M. Djukanovic report: "The Meeting Will Be a Federal Manifestation"]

[Text] Niksic, 14 Aug—The social meeting, or the meeting of the hungry, as the Niksic people have called the protest rally which has been scheduled for 1000 [0800 GMT] on 20 August in Marshal Tito Square in Niksic, is increasingly occupying the public's attention. Contradictory views are being heard over whether, after the victorious October and January events in Niksic and Montenegro, a new meeting of people's anger is necessary and who needs it, as well as over who it will be aimed at and what the goals and consequences will be.

The organizing committee for the meeting, which is composed of representatives of sociopolitical and work organizations, is becoming increasingly active.

At today's meeting of this committee, it was reported, among other things, that specific duties had been apportioned to the members of its executive committee. They will be concerned with providing amplification in Marshall Tito Square, keeping all cafes closed until 1300 [1100 GMT] on the day of the meeting, organizing the press center and increasing post office services, organizing medical teams and increasing suburban transport, providing drinking water, and communicating with the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Montenegro. The meeting will be important on a national level.

Radio Niksic will broadcast an appeal for citizens to present their views and suggestions about the meeting to the organizing committee by Wednesday 16 August at the latest.

Dr Ljubisa Stankovic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, will speak at the meeting on behalf of this republic's state organs.

It has been suggested that the best worker in Niksic should speak on behalf of the Montenegrin workers class, a pensioner from Titograd should speak on behalf of Montenegrin pensioners, and an unemployed person from Ivangrad should speak on behalf of the 40,000 unemployed in Montenegro.

The public will hear a summary of all the speeches on Radio Niksic which will be read by a worker at the Branko Draskovic information center

Particular attention was drawn to the proposals made by Milan Maric, member of the organizing committee and a worker at the Trebes beer and soft drinks factory, who presented some suggestions on the content of the speech by the representative of the workers class. He said, among other things, that the speech must contain a protest against the state and party organs of the country because of their insufficient concern for the country's unity; against the increasing disharmony in the leaderships; against the ever increasing occurrences of various nationalisms, idleness and idlers, and false sick leave and fake patients; and against the current taxation policy, but should support a unified Yugoslav taxation system.

Slovene Peasants Not To Attend Belgrade Rally

AU1708104989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Slovene Peasants Are Not Coming Either"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Aug—Peasants from Slovenia will not be going to the August 28 meeting in Belgrade, Ivan Oman, president of the Slovene Peasants Alliance, has stated, refuting the rumors that the peasant organizations, together with the Alliance of Slovene Peasant Youth, have supported the idea of holding a meeting.

Not one of these agricultural workers organizations have either participated in initiating or in preparing the program for the meeting in Belgrade, said Oman, adding that the members of these organizations also do not agree with some of the agricultural measures taken by the federal government.

The peasants in Slovenia also do not like the level of the protected price of wheat and they are bothered by the emptying of commodity reserves, because the way in which this has been carried out has had neither market nor social effects. In the words of Oman, these measures seem as if someone has copied them badly from a U.S. high school book on agriculture economy.

Along with the comment that they do not want to impose their views on anyone and even less to write out prescriptions for anyone or to deny anyone the right to public expression, the peasants of Slovenia, said Oman, see the occupational and even political organization of peasants as the way out.

That is to say, they think that they can only act together, exert influence, and organize protests, independently and without the fear that someone could exploit them, in organizations that have a program.... This also involves the stand, said Oman, that Yugoslav agriculture should be organized anew and that the way of managing it should be changed so as to allow family farms to become our agricultural foundation and to re-affirm the cooperative movement, as well as to allow for agrarian reform that would enable the land to be cultivated by those who are capable of doing this efficiently, as well as allow the peasant to become an equal member of society.

The meeting in Belgrade would be too ineffectual to achieve these aims and we will therefore not be going to Belgrade, stressed Oman, commenting that this does not mean that peasants in Slovenia do not support the democratic initiatives and movements in Yugoslavia.

Slovenian Deputies Demand Penal Code Change

LD1808035989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 17 (TANJUG)—A group of deputies from Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia on Thursday submitted to the federal parliament a project of changes in the country's penal code providing for the abolition of the so-called "verbal offences" and reducing the number of cases in which death penalty can be pronounced.

The deputies said that the proposed changes, on which the parliament will vote in October, are aimed at improving the protection of the basic rights and freedoms of citizens and adapting the penal code to Yugoslavia's international obligations.

The project does not call for changes in the basic principles of the penal code, but only in the provisions which determine criminal offences and sanctions for them.

A major change concerns the notorious Article 133, which provides sanctions for the so-called "verbal offences: [word indistinct] its broad formulation of the criminal offence of "malicious and untruthful presentation of the socio-political conditions in the country." As proposed by the Slovenian deputies, Article 133 would only cover "calls for or incitement to violent change in the social system."

The deputies also urge a more specific definition of a number of criminal offences against the foundations of the state and social systems and more penient sanctions for these offences.

The controversial Article 133 has for years been the target of public criticism, and demands for its abolition are being increasingly voiced. Following an appeal by the forum for the protection of human rights, the state presidency early this year pardoned all those serving prison sentences for criminal offences under this article alone.